Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-238
Thursday
10 December 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-238 *10 December 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Berisha Receives Deputies of Macedonian Parliament *[ATA]* 1
Meksi, Deputies Discuss Joint Relations *[ATA]* 1
Amendments to Prices, Tariffs Law Approved *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

Zhelev Issues New Statement on Boyadzhiev *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Boyadzhiev Denounces Zhelev's Stance *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Zhelev Refuses Boyadzhiev Mandate Extension *[Sofia Radio]* 2
More on Zhelev's Refusal *[BTA]* 2
Intelligence Head Denies Involvement *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Press Views Boyadzhiev's Failure *[BTA]* 3
SDS, DPS Form Contact Groups for More Talks *[Sofia Radio]* 4
SDS Official Views Intraparty Conflicts *[KONTINENT 3 Dec]* 5
BSP Official Views Ideological Diversity *[VECHERNI NOVINI 1-2 Dec]* 5
Pomaks Plan To Form 'Democratic Party of Labor' *[24 CHASA 3 Dec]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Cermak Comments on U.S. Consulate Investigation *[CTK]* 7
Ambassador: Canada Interested in Trade, Investment *[CTK]* 7
France To Help Restructure Moravian Industry *[CTK]* 7
Official Views GATT Membership Succession *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 7 Dec]* 8
Klaus on Czech Constitution, Government Structure *[Prague Radio]* 10
Foreign Ministry Details Separation Plans *[CTK]* 11
LSU Faces Internal Differentiation *[CTK]* 11
Slovakia's IMF Membership Discussed *[CTK]* 12
Report Reviews CSFR-Syrian Economic Relations *[CTK]* 12
Establishment of Slovak Armed Forces Discussed *[CTK]* 12

HUNGARY

Summit To Improve Ties With Romania Suggested *[MTI]* 13
Refusal of Romanian Extradition Request Denied *[MTI]* 13
EC To Set Up Observer Mission in South *[MTI]* 13
Antall Meets Hungarian Leaders From Subcarpathia *[MTI]* 14
President, Premier in Conflict Over TV Head *[MTI]* 14
Socialists Hold National Conference *[MTI]* 14

POLAND

Skubiszewski Optimistic for Polish-Slovak Ties *[PAP]* 16
CIA Reportedly Interested in Former General *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 4-5 Dec]* 16
Walesa Meets With Regional Press Representatives *[SERWIS INFORMACYJNY]* 17
Walesa Addresses Navy Servicemen in Ustka *[SERWIS INFORMACYJNY]* 17
Minister Rokita on Referendum Issue *[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 25 Nov]* 18

ROMANIA

Serbia Allows Detained Tug To Sail Home *[ROMPRES]* 20

Negritoiu Discusses Reform, Market Economy *[ROMANIA LIBERA 1 Dec]* 20
Spokesman Discusses Integration With Moldova *[ROMPRES]* 23
Constantinescu Assesses Relations With UDMR *[ROMPRES]* 23
Dissent Reported Within National Liberal Party *[ROMPRES]* 24
Vacaroiu, TU Officials Discuss Economic Situation *[ROMPRES]* 24
Daily Predicts Unemployment of 1.2 Million Shortly *[ROMPRES]* 24
European Investment Bank To Grant Further Loans *[ROMPRES]* 25
Gherman Receives Lebanese Commerce Chairman *[ROMPRES]* 25
Erno Raffay Heads Hungarian Military Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 25

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Rifkind Suggests 'More Powerful' UN Response *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 26
Rules Out Military Intervention *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 26
UN Warns Serbs To Halt Sarajevo Offensive *[TANJUG]* 26
Bosnian Serbs Set To Release Nearly 3,000 POW's *[TANJUG]* 27
Serbs Reportedly Racing To Capture Sarajevo *[AFP]* 27
Serb Army Reports Muslim Offensive in Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 28
Muslim Forces Capture Sarajevo Suburb *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Zagreb Radio Reports Battle 28
Serb Commander Denies Capture *[TANJUG]* 28
Serbs Allow UN Convoy Through to Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 29
Zvornik Garrison Command Stops UN Convoy *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Serbs Said Using Chemical Weapons *[Zagreb Radio]* 29
Serb Says Croatian Planes Flying to Bihac *[TANJUG]* 30
Serb Ex-Prisoners on Conditions in Muslim Camps *[BORBA 19 Nov]* 30

CROATIA

Serb Artillery Shells Zupanja Region *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Babic Letter to Serbia's Leaders on Elections *[BORBA 21-22 Nov]* 31

SLOVENIA

Number of Seats Won at Elections Reported *[Ljubljana Radio]* 32

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Cosic Sends Letter to John Major *[TANJUG]* 33
Panic Calls For Peace at First Campaign Rally *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Assembly Assesses Danger of Kosovo Instability *[TANJUG]* 35
Agriculture Ministry Satisfied With Food Reserves *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Collapse of Newly Founded Banks Feared *[BORBA 21-22 Nov]* 35
Foreign Currency Exchange Rates Growing *[POLITIKA 24 Nov]* 37
Paper Shortage 'Threatens' Printing of Dinars *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 37
Issue of Gasoline Prices Discussed *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 38
Sanction Effects on Transportation Cited *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 40
Transportation Minister on Sanctions *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 40
Data on Future Professional Army Composition *[POLITIKA 18 Nov]* 40
Data on Romanian Smuggling Link *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 41
Details of Election Process Described *[POLITIKA 25 Nov]* 42

Serbia

Opposition Assails Socialists' Election Tactics *[TANJUG]* 43
Seselj Says Radicals Support Milosevic *[Belgrade TV]* 43
Milosevic Addresses Campaign Rally in Srem *[Belgrade Radio]* 44
Strong Explosion Reported at Belgrade Mosque *[TANJUG]* 45
Milosevic's Relations With Press Discussed *[Paris LE MONDE 21 Nov]* 45

Serbian Oil Supply To Last Until Spring *[NOVI VJESNIK 24 Nov]* 47
Peasant Party Head on Milosevic, Macedonia *[PULS 12 Nov]* 47

Macedonia

Gligorov Seeks EC Recognition *[Paris LIBERATION 5-6 Dec]* 49
President Proposes New Addition to Name *[Belgrade Radio]* 50
Gligorov Thanks Bulgaria for 'Support' *[BTA]* 50
Local Albanian Leader Interviewed *[BORBA 19 Nov]* 51
Republic 'Surrounded by Enemies' *[BORBA 19 Nov]* 52
Blockade Hitting Local Economy Hard *[POLITIKA 19 Nov]* 53
Disagreements Among Coalition Parties Viewed *[PULS 19 Nov]* 53

Montenegro

Stankovic Proposes Union of Sovereign States *[TANJUG]* 55
Russia To Send Humanitarian Aid *[BORBA 21-22 Nov]* 55
Montenegro Democratic Party Candidate Interviewed *[BORBA 21-22 Nov]* 56

Kosovo

Situation 'Very Tense' After Vushtrri Shooting *[Tirana Radio]* 57
Alliance Protests Construction of Orthodox Church *[Tirana Radio]* 57
Albanian Language Paper Not Published *[TANJUG]* 58
Non-Publication Condemned *[ATA]* 58
Serbian Police Arrest Albanian Activists *[ATA]* 58
'Separatists' Said Increasing Attacks *[TANJUG]* 58
Pristina Corps Commander on Kosovo Security *[POLITIKA 20 Nov]* 59

Vojvodina

Belgrade 'Purges' Teachers, Judiciary, Police *[Zagreb Radio]* 59
Opposition Parties Form Election Coalition *[TANJUG]* 59
Vojvodina Industry Reports Fall in Production *[Belgrade Radio]* 60
Democratic Reform Party: Autonomy for Vojvodina *[MAGYAR SZO 5 Oct]* 60

Berisha Receives Deputies of Macedonian Parliament

AU0912172592 Tirana ATA in English 0946 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—I consider the Albanians' integration into the political life of the Macedonian state as a contribution of the Albanian community to the stability and democratisation of Macedonia, President Berisha said to a group of Albanian deputies of Skopje's parliament. He praised the constructive role of the Albanian political parties and parliamentarians and their participation in the Macedonian Government.

The policy of the Albanian state towards Macedonia is that of good neighbourliness and friendship. The relations between the two countries have advanced a great deal over the last eight months and we are determined to promote them. Being aware of the danger posed to Macedonia in the present Balkan mosaic, we are in favour of its territorial integrity. We hail UN's decision to deploy the blue helmets to this republic. We also greatly praise the stand of the Macedonian Government for a registration of the population under international surveillance.

President Berisha reiterated Albania's stand that the present Constitution of Macedonia should be changed in order to give the Albanian community the place it deserves. Macedonia must be a state of its own citizens. He praised the last month achievements in opening some parallel Albanian classes. But, the president said, I consider quite natural the opening of an Albanian university in Skopje.

Meksi, Deputies Discuss Joint Relations

AU0912172692 Tirana ATA in English 0951 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—On December 8, Premier Aleksander Meksi met with a group of Albanian deputies from Macedonia.

We are glad our arrival here coincided with the day of the student movement, which accelerated the introduction of democracy in Albania, Mr. Mehmet Halili said taking the floor on behalf of the group. He informed Mr. Meksi of the numerous problems of Macedonia, especially of the Albanians residing in Macedonia. He said: A key problem is the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, because the future of the Albanians in Macedonia, who have enjoyed no right until now, depends on the way this problem is solved, he said.

Mr. Ismet Ramadani, head of the parliamentary group for foreign relations, informed of the peaceful and tolerating stand of the Albanians and efforts of the Albanian politicians in Macedonia to clarify the international public opinion on the rights of the Albanians of Macedonia.

The other delegation members dwelt on other details on problems currently worrying the Balkans and the possibilities for close cooperation between Albania and Macedonia. They proposed Mr. Meksi the opening of a representative office of the Albanians of Macedonia in Tirana.

Considering the stand maintained by the Albanians of Macedonia as a correct and peaceful stand, Mr. Aleksander Meksi said that the only correct way to solve the inter ethnic and international problems is the peaceful way through dialogue and that the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia should be done through the observation of the Albanians' rights and the state-forming right. He told the parliamentarians that in the future the chances of cooperation between the two countries will be greater.

Amendments to Prices, Tariffs Law Approved

AU0912173592 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—The People's Assembly examined among the other things the draft law for a change to the Law on Prices and Tariffs.

The deputies expressed their concern for people's supply with basket stuffs and humanitarian aid, the action taken by the government for the prices and tariffs of foodstuffs, etc. They stressed that the changes to this law are the only economic road to cut the prices of foodstuffs. The deputies endorsed the change to this law on the condition that the government compensate the wages, pensions, assistance fellowships, etc., and should not change the price of bread and fuels, etc.

Then the deputies endorsed in principle and general the draft law. The report submitted on the occasion says that in the first stages the prices of some items as bread, some main oil by-products, etc., that is, the maximal bounds should not be higher than those fixed by the Council of Ministers.

The Assembly continues its proceedings today before noon.

Zhelev Issues New Statement on Boyadzhiev

AU0912175792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] A few minutes before our newscast began, Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, made the following statement:

[Begin recording] Regarding the declaration of Mr. Petur Todorov Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, nominated for this post by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and coalition, I have been authorized the state the following:

On 2 December 1992 the BSP and coalition informed the president about the decision to propose the candidacy of Mr. Petur Todorov Boyadzhiev for the post of prime minister. This decision presupposes that the BSP parliamentary faction is convinced that its candidate meets all constitutional requirements, including the one about the candidate having only one citizenship—Bulgarian.

Information received today from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly confirms that Mr. Boyadzhiev received French citizenship on 3 May 1989. The central French administration has no information about a request on the part of Mr. Boyadzhiev to relinquish his French citizenship.

All claims in the declaration of Mr. Petur Todorov Boyadzhiev do not correspond to the truth, and the declaration represents a crude slander against the head of state, aimed at manipulating the public opinion and serving certain political interests.

Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria, again declares that he will strictly adhere, as he always has, to the requirements of the Bulgarian Constitution related to forming the cabinet. [end recording]

Boyadzhiev Denounces Zhelev's Stance

AU0912190292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, has issued a declaration that points out that the president is behind all confrontation processes in Bulgaria and has again demonstrated his style of work. Mr. Boyadzhiev stated that until this moment the president has not approached him with the request to receive information about the procedure of relinquishing his dual citizenship. The declaration further points out that during a period when a legal mandate to form a cabinet is still in power, President Zhelev and his circle are strenuously working for the formation of a caretaker cabinet.

Petur Boyadzhiev stated that the procedure related to relinquishing his second citizenship started two months ago. He appealed to the president to assume complete responsibility before the parliament and the country, for everything that unfolded after the notorious Boyana news conference and until today.

Zhelev Refuses Boyadzhiev Mandate Extension

AU0912211492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] After a 55-minute meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister proposed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party, left without receiving a mandate. He told reporters that he requested a one-week extension during which the document confirming his repudiation of the French citizenship would arrive from France.

Later, Blagovest Sendov, who accompanied Petur Boyadzhiev to the meeting with the president, said that such an extension has not been granted, and thus the mandate has expired.

More on Zhelev's Refusal

AU1012080092 Sofia BTA in English 2135 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The prime minister-designate nominated by the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party (BSP), Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, failed to receive the recommendation of the president for his election as prime minister by parliament. The BSP lost its mandate to form a cabinet following a scandal brought about by the dual nationality—Bulgarian and French, of Mr. Boyadzhiev.

Late this evening the prime minister-designate met President Zhelyu Zhelev to inform him of the outcome of his one-week consultations on the formation of a new cabinet.

For me it is an undeniable fact that Petur Boyadzhiev has a dual nationality, which poses a constitutional obstacle before his entering a Bulgarian cabinet, the president's legal adviser, Mr. Plamen Bogeov [name as received], told journalists after the meeting. He added that Mr. Boyadzhiev failed to convince Zhelyu Zhelev in the success of his efforts to form a cabinet—he did not present the president with the composition of his cabinet but asked the president to motion his candidature in parliament first. The BSP has failed to form a cabinet and now it is the turn of the next parliamentary force—the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, to nominate its prime minister-designate, the presidential adviser said.

Earlier today Petur Boyadzhiev and the spokesman for the president exchanged sharp declarations. The prime minister-designate accused President Zhelev of being at the bottom of most processes of confrontation in Bulgaria.

Under the Constitution only a Bulgarian national can head the Bulgarian cabinet. In a televised statement tonight the spokesman for the president said that according to information received from the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of France in response to an inquiry, Mr. Boyadzhiev was granted French citizenship on May 3, 1989. "The French central administration has no data about any request handed in by Petur Boyadzhiev to be relieved of French citizenship," the presidential spokesman said. Petur Boyadzhiev himself claims that the procedure to relieve him of French citizenship started two months ago and that its speed does not depend on him.

In his declaration Petur Boyadzhiev accused President Zhelev and his team of working on the formation of a caretaker cabinet after the dissolution of parliament. According to the failed prime minister-designate the fall of the cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov in late October was not caused by shortcomings in its policy but by "the striving of the president to establish control over the Bulgarian Government." The presidential spokesman described the allegations of Petur Boyadzhiev as gross slander against the head of state.

This afternoon MP's [members of parliament] of the radical Alliance for Social Democracy in the BSP told BTA that bearing in mind the latest developments the BSP will not apply to be given a second mandate to form a cabinet. Mr. Plamen Vulkanov MP of the BSP said on TV that the mandate of the BSP was not unsuccessful but was frustrated for formal reasons. He did not deny that the Socialists were aware of the dual nationality of Petur Boyadzhiev when they nominated him as prime minister-designate.

In the same TV show Edvin Sugarev MP of the Union of Democratic Forces called on the president to hand in his resignation because he had violated the Constitution by granting a mandate for forming a cabinet to a person of dual nationality. According to Mr. Sugarev, the president and intelligence chief General Brigo Asparukhov are to blame for this turn of events because it was their duty to make inquiries into the nationality of Petur Boyadzhiev. In connection with these allegations of Edvin Sugarev, General Brigo Asparukhov made a special statement for BTA saying that the intelligence is not a political police.

In a televised address the prime minister-designate of the BSP called on the Bulgarian politicians to unite.

Intelligence Head Denies Involvement

AU0912202792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Today, before meeting Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the republic, Petur Boyadzhiev, whose candidacy for the post of prime minister was proposed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and coalition, stated to BTA that he had deposited with his attorney a request addressed to the French Foreign Ministry, on repudiating his French citizenship.

A short while ago we received a statement from Major General Brigo Asparukhov, director of the National Intelligence Service, which reads:

Regarding the declaration of Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, and more specifically, the seventh paragraph of the declaration, I state that the National Intelligence Service does not deal in intrigues, rumors, actions behind the scenes, and investigation of Bulgarian citizens, nor does it have any functions on the territory of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The claim that appeared recently in the mass media, namely, that the National Intelligence Service is investigating Bulgarian citizens, or eavesdropping on their conversations, represents a new attempt to destabilize and disrupt the activity of one of the most important institutions in the country, which has the task to work for Bulgaria's national security and interests, the declaration reads.

Further on, General Asparukhov categorically rejects the attempts of interested circles and persons to present the National Intelligence Service as a political police that implements political orders. As director of the National Investigation Service, I declare to the Bulgarian public that the National Intelligence Service implements tasks related to protecting the interests of the Republic of Bulgaria outside its territory.

Press Views Boyadzhiev's Failure

AU1012113892 Sofia BTA in English 0837 GMT 10 Dec 92

[From BTA review of Sofia press]

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—"BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Makes Fool of the Nation" (DEMOKRATSIYA); "Unprecedented Gaffe: Petur Boyadzhiev Turns Out Ineligible" (PARI); "Another Candidacy Collapses" (ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME); "BSP Mandate Ends in Failure" (TRUD); "New Cabinet Unlikely by New Year (OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK); "After Bitter Clash Between Prime Minister Designate and President, the Ball Is With the Movement for Rights and Freedoms" (DUMA); "BSP Takes French Leave, DPS Turn Comes" (KONTINENT)—this is a sample of headings capping front-page reports in the press on the failed mandate of the opposition Bulgarian Socialist, former Communist, Party (BSP) to form a cabinet. President Zhelyu Zhelev last night declined to sign a decree asking parliament to vote Mr. Boyadzhiev's candidacy (sponsored by the BSP) for the prime- ministership due to the latter's dual citizenship (Bulgarian and French).

"The developments around the formation of Petur Boyadzhiev's cabinet are taking a comic turn. But with the economy on the decline, inflation, unemployment and crime rising and no operative cabinet or effective parliament, anyone would lose their sense of humour," PARI writes.

According to STANDART NEWS, the loser is Mr. Boyadzhiev himself. "Otherwise, all players are happy. The BSP, which did not hope to succeed, got the chance to claim its interests had been harmed despite its offer of a compromise. The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) won enough time to recall their honeymoon and think of a new marriage contract," the paper comments.

"We have been deceived again and it is not fair that Petur Boyadzhiev should be the only one to pay," KONTINENT writes.

"Irrespective of how things will work out, what decision the president will make and what stance the people in power will take, the Socialists' attempt to grant their mandate to a political figure outside their party in order to ease social tensions is seen in positive terms," Stefan Prodev, editor in chief of the Socialist daily DUMA writes. According to Mr. Prodev, this attempt shows civil maturity and political insight.

According to a poll taken by KONTINENT a week ago, one in ten Bulgarians would serve as prime minister. Eighty percent of respondents categorically decline such a possibility.

"Institutions have resumed fighting—this time by a preemptive strike against the unformed cabinet. It seems to be true that the president has been long and now openly steering towards a provisional cabinet and a dissolution of parliament," OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK writes, adding that Dr. Zhelev displayed his partiality as early as this spring when there was no sign of a cabinet crisis.

By next Tuesday the president, parliament and the government should give their views on the case of the cabinet crisis, the Constitutional Court decided yesterday, according to DUMA. The court named these institutions as sides to the case. 51 MP's [members of parliament] of the BSP-led election coalition and Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev have filed requests with the Constitutional Court, which will rule on the constitutional settlements to the cabinet crisis. The court has been asked to rule on the formation of a new cabinet, the powers and life of a caretaker government, and parliament's status.

The dailies write that under the Constitution, the president should give a mandate for the formation of a cabinet to the third biggest parliamentary force, the DPS. 24 CHASA reports that the SDS and the DPS have appointed contact groups for negotiations for a coalition cabinet. According to DEMOKRATSIYA, the negotiations will start on Sunday, December 13.

On Sunday, the SDS will hold a political conference attended by its MP's and representatives from the provinces. They will discuss ways out of the crisis, the limits of compromise with the DPS, a formula for a possible coalition government, the two forces' ministerial quotas in it, the preliminary conditions for negotiations between the SDS and the DPS. Yesterday the participants in the forthcoming conference were given questionnaires prepared by the SDS National Coordinating Council, KONTINENT says.

"The SDS can remain the ruling force with the DPS's support but the point is what price it will pay and what conditions will be set to it," Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council and outgoing prime minister, says in an interview for DEMOKRATSIYA. According to him, the SDS should decide on its long-term position when the DPS is given a mandate to form a cabinet. "The SDS should maintain its dignity so as not to be at a disadvantage in future elections," Mr. Dimitrov says, asked about the limits to compromise with the DPS. "I have always argued that it is possible to maintain cooperation, coordinate efforts, respect the other side's views and interests, but compromise must never be allowed to impair the image and the character of the political force which has its electorate to reckon with," Filip Dimitrov says.

The DPS will insist to fill the positions of prime minister, three ministers, four deputy ministers, and two heads of state committees in a possible coalition cabinet with the SDS, Bahri Yumer MP of the DPS said in Ardino (southern Bulgaria), according to DEMOKRATSIYA. He also said the DPS was decidedly against new parliamentary elections.

SDS, DPS Form Contact Groups for More Talks

AU0912192292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] have formed four contact groups which will negotiate on the future cooperation between the two political formations. This became clear after the meeting of their parliamentary factions at the National Assembly.

The task of the contact groups will be to facilitate overcoming the conflict aspects, which prevented the formation of a coalition cabinet, and the well-known contradictions in the economic policy, the national security issues, and the fate of the personal files.

SDS deputies who signed the famous declaration of Petur Markov—Margarit Mitev, Stanko Stanev, and Petur Kharizanov—and several others will be members of the SDS contact groups.

Vasil Mikhaylov, SDS deputy, was not allowed to participate in the contact groups.

Evegeni Matinchev, Sherife Mustafa, and Yunal Lyutfi will participate in the contact groups on the part of the DPS.

Periodic meetings of the contact groups will take place in the next days.

SDS Official Views Intraparty Conflicts

AU0812171392 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Asen Michkovski, member of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) parliamentary faction, by Genka Markova; place and date not given: "Manner of Governing Caused Crisis, Changes in National Coordinating Council, Parliamentary Faction Are Necessary"]

[Excerpts] [Markova] What do you think prompted the cabinet crisis?

[Michkovski] What first prompted the crisis was the manner in which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] used to govern. There is an absolute agreement both within the SDS and its parliamentary faction about the principles on which the SDS comprehensive policy must be conducted. However, when the implementation of those principles in everyday policy failed, a rupture emerged. I mean both the manner in which the SDS governed and developments within the SDS. The emergence of absolutely bolshevik tendencies in the SDS political leadership, the search for the enemy with a different party membership card, and focusing on several personalities that were identified with the SDS and democracy—those are the main causes of the political and parliamentary crisis. Several parties within the SDS (I mean the Alternative Socialist Party and certain persons), tried already at the beginning of the year to forecast with a clear conscience the situation that has emerged now. However, they were treated as traitors, agents, KGB servants, and similar stupid claims, still advocated by such people as Ivan Kurtev, Edvin Sugarev, and Stefan Savov.... I am convinced that those are people who do not want to see the truth. The truth is so obvious that most people grasped it, including the so-called SDS hard-core voters.

[Markova] Declarations were published according to which the SDS parliamentary group is united, and there are no contradictions or differences within the SDS National Coordinating Council.

[Michkovski] Declarations and generally words serve the purpose of conveying and obliterating thoughts. There is no such unity of thoughts. On the contrary, clear contradictions exist within the SDS Coordinating Council and parliamentary faction. The National Coordinating Council continues to prevent the SDS parliamentary faction from achieving a full emancipation and assuming the place it deserves. Prudence still has a chance to prevail, but in any event the entire melodrama will end next week.

[Markova] Does that mean that you expect fundamental changes in the SDS National Coordinating Council and parliamentary faction?

[Michkovski] Of course, by all means. If the formula about forming a cabinet of the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] materializes, the centers of power in the SDS will shift. [passage omitted]

[Markova] Who is pushing Bulgaria toward new elections?

[Michkovski] The two hard-core groups in the National Assembly—the hardliners of the blue [SDS] and the red [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Their common final goal—new elections—is identical. Their motives are somewhat different, but in the final analysis, both groups plan to kill two birds with one stone. They aim to eliminate their internal party and coalition opponents and assume their place. They hope to repeat the results of the October 1991 elections. However, those SDS members who think that the election results could repeat, are far from the truth. [passage omitted]

[Markova] What, in your opinion, is the successful formula for a SDS-DPS government?

[Michkovski] Such a government must be formed on the basis of a precise acceptance of commitments and a presentation of minimum claims. The ration between the two parliamentary factions' strength must be preserved in any event. In addition, commitments must be assumed for conducting the executive policy and supporting it in the parliament. All this is possible. I could hardly answer the question about who could be the prime minister, but I think that this could be a woman.

[Markova] Perhaps Mariyana Todorova?

[Michkovski] Or Snezhana Botusharova....

[Markova] Thank God, there also are other women in Bulgaria. There also are many candidates for the post of prime minister. In any event, will there be a new cabinet by the end of the year?

[Michkovski] Perhaps Santa Claus will bring Bulgaria a new prime minister.

BSP Official Views Ideological Diversity

AU0812165392 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 1-2 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Krasimir Premyanov, member of the BSP Supreme Council Executive Bureau, by Boryana Kostova; place and date not given: "Understanding Leads to National Consensus, Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [Kostova] Recently there have been many sparks in relations between the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD]. What are the causes of those relations' high tension?

[Premyanov] There are diverse reasons for the dynamic of relations within the party. Perhaps one of them is the fact that presently we are actively seeking the road of preserving ideological pluralism in the party, in the interest of internal democracy and while preserving the

rules of common goals and interests. Other parties have the same problem. It is not our "specific case."

[Kostova] This is so, but let us concentrate on the situation within the BSP. What do you dislike in its ideological currents?

[Premyanov] Indeed, the claims of the ideological currents and their separate "authors" are strange. By seeking their own legitimate organizational and charter independence, they infringe upon the basic elements of the community called party. Thus, unwillingly, they negatively affect the party. I think that ideological pluralism must not affect the goals and issues related to the coordinated line of political action and behavior, which in any democratic formation is worked out by its highest representatives. Furthermore, pluralism does not mean to ignore the centers of organization and leadership formed in a democratic way. Those are generally valid things. The fact that there are different views of the political formations is another issue. [passage omitted]

[Kostova] Is there a power struggle in the party?

[Premyanov] There is no power in the party. This power, as some people call the right to participate in the party's leadership, is much more connected with personal loss and being blamed for other people's mistakes, mistakes of the predecessors, rather than with some advantages. It is a positive factor when you want to govern in the name of specific principles and for the benefit of others. However, if you strive to be at the top only to satisfy your own desires, rather than to implement certain principles—this is already something that has a rather unpleasant name. [passage omitted]

[Kostova] Does the party leadership utilize the potential of the ideological currents?

[Premyanov] I do not think so. For the time being we are marching along a difficult road; we still accumulate experience together with our opponents in the political life. It is difficult to seek and find the optimal variant. If we take, for example, the bloc system of government, I cannot say that the ideological currents have been fully utilized in the working out of executive or control activities.

[Kostova] Is there a danger of a split with some of those currents (I specifically mean the OSD), or individual "insubordinate" persons in the BSP?

[Premyanov] The ideological currents are a fact. There are deliberate or accidental incorrect steps and mistakes. This applies not only to the OSD, but also to other people in the process of their social development. However, is there a single example of use of administrative and power methods in dealing with unruly members in the BSP? There are no such examples. The BSP functions in a democratic manner. It tolerates differences and selected the principle of unity in diversity. In this context it is not important what someone says about the party's actions. What is important is the social practice itself that the party accumulated.

[Kostova] Are we to understand that there will be no split in the party, as was recently claimed?

[Premyanov] Some people use this threat to create tension and strengthen their positions. In addition, they use this method in a preventive manner, for example, when they publish things that do not correspond to the BSP intentions. There is no danger of a minor or a serious split in the BSP. The party does not belong to its leadership but to its members, and this strengthens the right of every member to freedom of personality.

Pomaks Plan To Form 'Democratic Party of Labor'

AU0912120492 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 2

[Text] Kamen Burov, mayor of the village of Zhultusha, Ardino municipality, has informed 24 CHASA that on 4 December Bulgarian Muslims intend to found a Democratic Party of Labor. Pomaks from all over the country are expected to arrive for the party's constituent meeting in this village in the Rhodopes.

The new party will defend the interests of the population in the mountain and upland regions and will not be ethnic in nature, Mr. Burov explained.

The party's statute and program have been drafted with the help of a deputy from the former Grand National Assembly, whose name is being kept secret. The founders hope to win at least 15 seats in the next elections, believing that they will be able to attract half the electorate of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Cermak Comments on U.S. Consulate Investigation

AU0912153192 Prague CTK in English 2050 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been participating in the investigation of the bugging device found in the building of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava, Czechoslovak Interior Minister Petr Cermak told CTK today.

The Czechoslovak authorities have not yet been allowed entry into the building, Cermak said and added that therefore he cannot say any details about the device.

He told CTK he has set up a special group for the case. We have offered cooperation to both the U.S. and Slovak sides, Cermak added.

He does not think that the device, which was found by the consulate people in the past fortnight and whose existence was reported by Czechoslovak television on Saturday, was to serve as a source of information.

In my view, it is an attempt at destabilization, an attempt to compromise the present Czechoslovak, and maybe also Slovak leaderships, Cermak said.

He said he rejects any responsibility as federal interior minister for the installation of the tapping device, and stressed he knows nothing about this bug.

Representatives of the U.S. Consulate are convinced, and I assured them of this, that the federation knows nothing about it and organizes and controls nothing like this, Cermak said.

He stressed that if some other consulate or embassy in Czechoslovakia asks the ministry to investigate or remove tapping devices from its building, the ministry will gladly do that. But we can do nothing like this on our own initiative, he added.

He stressed in conclusion: We are not interested in having any such devices installed anywhere in Czechoslovakia.

Ambassador: Canada Interested in Trade, Investment

AU0912173392 Prague CTK in English 1303 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—Canada's Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Paul D. Frazer today told Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus that Canada is interested in investments in and trade with Czechoslovakia, as well as in cooperation on third markets.

According to Klaus' spokesperson, Canadian business representatives are primarily interested in investments into the Czech economy.

A Canadian business delegation led by Minister of National Revenue Otto Jelinek is due to visit Prague at the end of January to discuss specific projects with Czech Government and business representatives.

The reconstruction of Prague's Ruzyne airport has so far been the largest project in which Canadian capital is involved.

Besides joint ventures and other forms of direct investments, Canada is also interested in expanding imports from the Czech Republic and in joint exports to third markets, according to spokeswoman Klara Pospisilova.

France To Help Restructure Moravian Industry

AU0912154192 Prague CTK in English 1647 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—The French Government intends to help the mining industry region of Ostrava and Karvina in north Moravia to cope with environmental and social problems arising from the process of restructuring the region's industrial base, French Environment Minister Segolene Royal, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia, said in Ostrava today.

At a meeting with Ostrava Mayor Jiri Smejkal she said the French Government will earmark two million francs for the account of an agency for regional development, which is to be established at the beginning of 1993. Another 14 million francs should be provided by French international organizations, Royal said.

The Ostrava-based Agency for Regional Development should have a total of 10 million ECU at its disposal, which the European Community (EC) has earmarked for the development of the region's small and medium businesses. Financial means from France are included in the amount provided by the EC.

French experts, who had assisted in restructuring Lotharingian industry, will come to the Ostrava region, Royal said.

Continuing cooperation between the French mining company Charbonnage de France and the Czech Ostravsko-karvinske doly mining joint-stock company in building a new heating plant is feasible. French and north Moravian companies can cooperate in modernizing Ostrava's drinking water supply system and water treatment facilities.

Royal and Czech Environment Minister Frantisek Benda agreed on creation of a Czech-French commission for the environment, which should present draft measures for the environment's improvement as early as January 1993, Benda said at a joint press conference in Prague.

Minister Royal asked (Czech Republic) for support for French producers of environment-protecting technologies. She was assured that the French companies are in no way discriminated against and that the Czech side will do its best to let them feel this support, Benda's spokesman Oldrich Turek said.

Official Views GATT Membership Succession

AU1012090592 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 10

[Article by Engineer Peter Palecka, counselor-ambassador and CSFR standing representative to GATT: "GATT's Rational Attitude"]

[Text] The breakup of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic into two independent states is a challenge for international organizations and associations to seek the most rational procedures when accepting as their members new entities, who are subject to international law. At many international forums, work on a solution to this difficult task has begun. In some cases, possible solutions are taking shape, and in a smaller number of international institutions an elegant solution has already been found. GATT is one of them.

In view of the fact that GATT makes extremely high demands of those who want to join the existing number of 105 members, the success here of our trade and political diplomacy is even more important. The fact that the treaty—which is drawn up in minute detail, has a history of over 40 years and includes a number of precedents—does not foresee the alternative that the original party to the treaty could split into new entities, also testifies to the specific nature of our case.

This is why preparatory work on ensuring the continuity of GATT relations in our trade and political relations was started long before the constitutional law on the termination of the Federation had been passed. The first contacts with main trading partners began shortly after political representatives had said that the existing Federation should be replaced by independent republics. Even several months ago, a search for new legal procedures had begun, procedures that were completely new to GATT.

In view of the limited space, it is impossible to describe in detail all the alternatives of how the GATT membership of both republics could be ensured, alternatives that were discussed in the span of several recent months. The main protagonists, who decide on the basis of the existing multilateral treaty about the applicants' chances of acquiring GATT membership, are the contracting parties to that treaty. This is why, most often, discussions on acceptable admission procedures were held with them in Geneva lobbies.

We received important assistance in our work from the GATT Secretariat itself. In decisive moments, its highly qualified personnel, in a very short period of time, formulated the results of the preceding discussion between the contracting parties in a legally acceptable form. Apart from dozens of bilateral and tripartite contacts, in the decisive period before the decision on the future fate of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic had been taken, there were three rounds of multilateral consultations in GATT, in which some 30 contracting parties participated.

It was a characteristic feature of these consultations that in each and every new round, completely new draft solutions were discussed. We must thank Mr. Ake Linden, special adviser to the GATT General Director for legal matters, for his help during these consultations, and in the entire process in which our future role in GATT was decided. Mr. Linden, at the request of the CSFR, visited Prague and Bratislava, and became acquainted on site with legislative and economic prerequisites for the Czech Republic's and the Slovak Republic's admission to GATT.

Innovative Solution

Diplomatic activity culminated in the decision to preserve the continuity of GATT relations between the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic—and the contracting parties. This decision was taken at the 48th meeting on 2 and 3 December in Geneva. Apart from the delegation on the federal level, representatives of the newly nascent states also participated in it. Representatives of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, in their short speeches, confirmed not only their having the legal prerequisites to be able to take over the CSFR's obligations, but also their utmost efforts to meet these obligations in their trade and economic policy after 1 January 1993. Before the meeting, a memorandum of the governments of both new republics was published as an official GATT document, a document by which the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic claim the heritage of the CSFR, as far as the General Agreement is concerned.

The GATT contracting parties adopted an innovative solution, which is composed of several steps, and which respects internal legislative procedures in all the GATT contracting parties. At the same time, this solution is an expression of the maximum efforts of the signatories to the General Agreement, to preserve, to the greatest possible extent, GATT's rights and obligations in mutual relations between the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, and the GATT contracting parties.

As a prerequisite for the membership of both new applicants in the General Agreement, GATT's Article 23 was taken as a basis. This article deals with general conditions for admission to GATT. In its classical form this article foresees the establishment of a working group, who, for months, and sometimes for years, examines in detail whether the trade and economic system of the applicant meets GATT's demanding criteria, and whether concessions granted by the applicant are of sufficient value to the contracting parties. The decision of the contracting parties on the Czech Republic's and the Slovak Republic's admission to GATT, however, does not contain these conditions, a fact that signifies a success.

Documents regarding the Czech Republic's and the Slovak Republic's admission to GATT will be drawn directly by the GATT secretariat. These documents will respect Czechoslovakia's rights and obligations as a founding party of GATT.

The secretariat will also prepare two identical national lists of customs concessions derived from the existing CSFR list of customs concessions.

Waiver Until 31 December

All adjustments to our conventional customs rates, which are the result of the restructuring of the Czechoslovak customs tariff and of the more than one year of negotiations within the framework of the waiver granted by the GATT contracting parties for the introduction of the new customs tariff without previous negotiations on implemented changes of customs rates, will also be incorporated into the lists of customs concessions. This waiver was granted to the CSFR until 31 December 1992, with the United States and Canada asking for the possibility to renegotiate increased customs rates. Both highly specialized negotiations were successfully completed even prior to the 48th session of the GATT contracting parties, which had a favorable influence on the decisionmaking process.

The admission procedures for the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will continue at the first session of the GATT Council in the new year, when the GATT Secretariat will submit to the contracting parties the aforementioned protocols and lists of customs concessions. However, the condition for the acceptance of all these documents is the preservation of the CSFR's current qualitative commitments [bonitni zavazky]. The acceptance of these documents will also set off the main voting procedure, which should take 45 days at the most. The definitive admission into GATT requires a two-thirds majority of the contracting parties. There should not be any substantial difficulties, given the consensus reached at the session of the contracting parties.

In this context it needs to be said that the current GATT regulations and their interpretation do not permit automatic successorship in the event of the termination of the "maternal" contracting party. Article 26.5 (c) of the General Agreement permits automatic GATT admission in the event of a part of the original territory of a contracting party acquiring autonomy in the management of foreign trade relations but, in the opinion of many contracting parties, this procedure is tied to the condition that the original contracting party continues to exist as some kind of a guarantor of successorship. The CSFR as the original contracting party, on the other hand, ceases to exist with effect from the last day of December.

The So-Called Interim Application

Another attempt to secure an automatic transfer of rights and commitments to the new republics was connected with the proposal to apply Article 25 of the General Agreement, which deals with the issue of joint decisionmaking by the contracting parties under exceptional circumstances that are not provided for in the text of GATT. Many countries cast doubt also on this argument, arguing that the issue of admission to GATT is addressed by Article 33 and Article 26.5 (c). In the opinion of these contracting parties, the application of Article 25 in the case of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic would therefore essentially mean renouncing the use of existing procedures and, thereby, an undesirable interpretation of GATT.

In the end, all contracting parties acknowledged, however, that the admission of the two new republics to GATT contains a certain specific element that has not been encountered in GATT practice heretofore. This concerns the period between 1 January 1993 and the day of the two successor states' admission to GATT on the basis of valid procedures. The legal vacuum that would emerge from the beginning of the new year would not be to the benefit of either side. It was therefore no coincidence that our initiative focused on achieving the highest possible degree of legal continuity in mutual trade and political relations in the period preceding the acquisition of full membership.

The term "de facto application of GATT" used heretofore has virtually no legally binding character and is merely a certain form of declaration used, for example, by some small island territories that they will apply GATT rules in their relations with trade partners. Another principle, one that is legally more binding, is the so-called provisional application of GATT; this principle is exceptionally demanding in terms of administrative procedure and time because it requires each contracting party's individual agreement to apply GATT in relations with the applicant. In other words, it does not have a multilateral effect and in some countries it is conditional on ratification by the domestic parliament.

Our attention therefore focused on the search for a completely new approach, which we finally found in the so-called interim application of GATT. Interim application means that the General Agreement will continue to be applied to relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on the one hand and the GATT contracting parties on the other in the same legally binding manner as though the two republics were GATT contracting parties already.

This new approach at the same time makes it possible for the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic to participate in all GATT activities, including meetings of its specialized bodies, as of 1 January next year. The only limitation is exclusion from the decisionmaking process, which means in practice nonparticipation in voting. However, GATT is an organization operating on the principle of consensus in the overwhelming majority of cases, which is why our absence in voting will not be too palpable.

Retroactive Validity

Another element of the CSFR's strategy was to make sure that, after the admission of both new republics to GATT, the General Agreement be applied retroactively,

that is, as of 1 January 1993. The contracting parties therefore adopted the principle of retroactivity, which ensures full continuity in executing GATT on what is at present CSFR territory. The pertinent decision of the contracting parties assumes, furthermore, that the decision on the Czech Republic's and Slovak Republic's participation in GATT should be made no later than 1 May 1993. Should a decision not be made by then, which is, however, unlikely, the GATT contracting parties would have to find a new corresponding solution.

The agreement on the establishment of a customs union between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will be a frequently discussed issue within GATT. However, the General Agreement analyzes those integration projects only if at least one participant is a GATT contracting party. It is therefore to be expected that the customs union on the territory of the former CSFR will be the first touchstone of the compatibility of the two new states' trade and economic policy on GATT premises. We have to realize this important fact even now as we translate the signed intergovernmental agreements into practice.

Having been a founding contracting party to GATT, the CSFR's integration into the activities of the General Agreement has been exceptionally strong. The colligation [vazanost] of the CSFR's customs rates in GATT amounts to 97 percent, the weighted average of customs duties is around 5.7 percent, and the federation is, moreover, signatory to many specialized codes and accords within the framework of GATT. Maintaining the present positions within the multilateral trade system is therefore a categorical imperative to which we have to subordinate all our future efforts. Above all, it will be necessary to secure the attained international recognition of both new states in GATT legislatively. The first necessary steps on the international forum have already been taken.

Klaus on Czech Constitution, Government Structure

LD1012041692 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1805 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Vaclav Musilek on 8 December; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Prime minister, the Czech National Council Constitutional and Legal Committee is debating in Lany the government-proposed draft of the Czech Constitution. Yesterday you talked about three main principles that the draft and the Constitution should retain. One of these is to maintain the unity of the Czech state. In your view, what should the Constitution not contain in this respect?

[Klaus] If there is something, I fear—and this fear has been made 10 times bigger by what we have just been through with Slovakia—it is that any, and I repeat any, form of dualism were to be embedded in the Czech Constitution. [passage omitted]

A representative of extreme Moravianism, Deputy Bily, said yesterday that the government was proposing a centralist state. This is a monumental lie. This is simply not true. The government regards decentralization as the basic principle of its view on the matter and it greatly regrets that not much progress has been made in the process of decentralization in the last three years. The 1993 budget lays foundations for an enormous degree of decentralization. Simply the share of financial means earmarked for individual regions, districts, towns, and villages that these local bodies will be allowed to keep for their own needs is endlessly higher than at any time in the history of this country. Here we have made an enormous radical shift towards decentralization. The role of the budget, that is to grant subsidies from the center to these bodies, has been reduced dramatically. And so the criticism that we want to build a centralist state is absolutely untrue. To defend certain elements of self-destroying dualism under the slogan of decentralized decisionmaking is a false argument.

[Musilek] Both you, and in particular International Relations Minister Josef Zieleniec, have been travelling around Europe in recent weeks. As you say, it is important that we [the Czech Republic] are visible there. Based on the experience you have gained there, do you think Europe is ready to accept the creation of the Czech Republic?

[Klaus] Certainly. For many people this was a surprise at some point since they were trying not to believe the brief articles appearing in newspapers that in the last three years were hinting at growing Slovak emancipation efforts, and they wish it was not like that. On the other hand they were worried by the violent splits of federations they could see in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Now, apart from dreamers both in our country and abroad, everybody knows that the situation is what it is and I think that it is a matter of course that the Czech state will be accepted. It is not a matter for discussion. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Apart from the Constitution, the Absolute Devolution Bill [recepcni zakon—bill on transfer of federal powers and laws to Czech Republic] has a very important place in the legal system of the Czech Republic. In your view, in what way should the current federal laws be transferred to the Czech Republic, to the Czech legal system?

[Klaus] Well, the Czech Government has drafted the government-proposed version of this bill, which in short we call the absolute devolution bill, that transfers the federal laws to the Czech Republic. Our draft of the bill is quite simple. It de facto states that it is impossible to transfer to the Czech law merely what those laws and powers had concerned the Federation explicitly. But

what had not concerned the Federation explicitly is being transferred en bloc, that is altogether, automatically. [passage omitted]

It is important to take over the whole system of laws as it is. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] There will be several new ministerial posts in the Czech Government. Prime minister, is it already clear what posts these will be? And in what stage are the coalition talks on its extension?

[Klaus] I must admit that all political parties, now I have in mind mainly the coalition ones, give priority to matter-of-fact issues, that is the Absolute Devolution Bill, the Constitution, and the transformation bill on how to fill the Senate, what to do with the deputies, etc. These are matter-of-fact problems. We really don't have much time to devote ourselves to personnel issues, that is who will be appointed to which ministerial post. I don't think that there will be any fundamental disputes about this. What we need now when we are taking the responsibilities of the Federation, and with it many new agendas, upon ourselves, we have never had before. We need one deputy prime minister, one defense minister, and one transport minister. This matter is beyond dispute. There is no doubt about this. Let us realize that it is not true that the Federation had merely doubled certain things. [passage omitted] In many cases the Federation did completely different things. The fact that before the elections the Federation had 16 ministers and the republics had over 20, and now the Czech Government has 17, makes it absolutely clear that things cannot stay like this. Although I am the one who saves and economizes the most and who makes the biggest cuts in government offices—something that is very much disliked by my colleagues, ministers from the government coalition including Civic Democratic Party ministers—I think that at the given moment the extention of the Czech Government by several posts is absolutely necessary. It is not an overexpansion of the government. I would be the last one to allow something like that.

Foreign Ministry Details Separation Plans

AU0912153592 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—The first part of the 45 current employees of the Czech Ministry of International Relations today moved to the Cerninsky Palace building, the seat of the Czechoslovak Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs till the end of the year, the Czech ministry's spokeswoman Lucie Pilipova told CTK today.

As of January 1, Czechoslovakia will be divided into independent Czech and Slovak Republics, each establishing its own diplomatic representations throughout the world.

After the Federation's split, the Czech Ministry is expected to employ up to 600 persons, about 100 less than the current staff of the federal ministry.

According to Czech Minister of International Relations Josef Zieleniec, the Czech ministry is to take over the federal ministry without any essential personnel changes.

The Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES today wrote that the split of the Federal Foreign Ministry will require a speedy transfer of about 330 diplomats from abroad to the two republic ministries or to other posts abroad. The transfer, which together with the diplomats' families concerns some 1000 people, is to be completed by January 1, 1993, the date of the country's split.

On the reaction of foreign diplomatic partners to these changes, General Director of the Federal Foreign Ministry's Administrative Section Karel Kovanda told the daily that they signal above all relief and even admiration at the calm and well-considered way of the whole process.

The division of the Federal Foreign Ministry gives the Czech and Slovak Republics a chance to create new highly professional foreign diplomatic services.

Says Kovanda: I would like the Czech Republic to have highly-qualified, impartial, nonpartisan and incorruptible foreign services, which will take some 10 to 15 years. What we are doing now is laying the foundation stones, Kovanda said.

LSU Faces Internal Differentiation

AU0912152992 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—All Liberal Social Union (LSU) member subjects are interested in preserving the union's current form, the LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka told CTK during the LSU congress in Prague today.

However, the Farmers' Movement, the Green Party, and the Agrarian Party are dissatisfied with current developments and demand that the LSU take categorically unequivocal stands, Trnka added.

The Liberal Social Union (LSU) consists of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS), the Agrarian Party, the Farmers' Movement and the Green Party. In the June elections the LSU acquired 12 seats in the 300-seat federal parliament and 16 seats in the 200-seat Czech parliament. It is an opposition party. Its basic aim has been to preserve a unified Czechoslovak state, with a federal setup based on the civic principle.

The CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak said that because the LSU consists of more subjects, it is more difficult to be unified, but so far there is no reason for us to say our stands differ to such an extent, that it would be impossible for us to agree on basic things, Dvorak said.

Slovakia's IMF Membership Discussed

AU1012160892 Prague CTK in English 2357 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 8 (CTK)— Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today met with Jacques de Groot, executive director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to discuss Slovakia's membership of the IMF after Czechoslovakia's split in January.

Meciar told journalists after the meeting that the assessment of the effectiveness of the Slovak economy by IMF representatives was more optimistic than that by Slovak representatives.

According to Jacques de Groot, the membership of the IMF of the successor states to Czechoslovakia (the Czech and Slovak Republics) should be no problem.

IMF experts, who are in Slovakia at the invitation of Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth, met also with representatives of the Slovak Finance Ministry and the Czechoslovak State Bank for talks on the division between the Czech and Slovak Republics of Czechoslovakia's assets in the IMF, and on the IMF's assistance to Slovakia in creating its national bank.

Report Reviews CSFR-Syrian Economic Relations

AU1012161092 Prague CTK in English 2213 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Damascus, Dec 8 (CTK correspondent)— The purpose of our visit to Syria is to improve mutual economic relations, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus told his Syrian counterpart Salim Yasin in Damascus yesterday.

Filkus heads a Czechoslovak delegation, including Federal Finance Minister Jan Klak, Federal Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka, representatives from the Czechoslovak State Bank and Czech and Slovak Republic officials, which arrived in Syria on Sunday [6 December] for a six day working visit.

Filkus added that Czechoslovakia is interested in the development of economic relations with Syria, though current reforms to reorient Czechoslovakia to a market economy make further loans unlikely, either for Syria or other countries.

He said contacts should be established between individual businesses in the two countries.

Concerning the settling of Czechoslovak claims in Syria, Filkus proposed creating joint committees composed of officials from Syria and the Czech and Slovak Republics to take inventory and draft conditions for repayment.

Yasin said this would be a complex task better left up to individual ministries and added that it would be better to concentrate on future relations.

Trade between Syria and Czechoslovakia reached 113.8 million USD [U.S. dollars] in 1991. Czechoslovak exports made up 103.3 million USD of this total. In the first nine months of this year, trade between the two countries reached 77 million USD, of which 74.3 million USD was made up by Czechoslovak exports to Syria.

In past years, Czechoslovak exports to Syria were mostly in the form of complete plants, textile machinery, tires and military hardware.

Establishment of Slovak Armed Forces Discussed

LD0912172192 Prague CTK in English 2357 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 8 (CTK)—Slovakia wants to base its own Army on the Western experience, the Slovak Government Special Commissioner in charge of the establishment of the Slovak Defence Ministry Bohumir Gerinec told TA SR, the Slovak news agency, today.

Gerinec stressed that the task would be difficult since the Army will have to rely on Warsaw Pact equipment and has no funds to replace it at present.

After the divison of the country in January, a continuing military cooperation is expected between the Czech and Slovak Republics, Gerinec said. A general defence treaty has been already concluded and additional 20 cooperation agreements are being drafted.

A Slovak defence minister has not been named yet and Gerinec said the choice depended on political agreements between Slovak ruling parties.

Major Gen. Jan Vana, the chief of the Slovak Air Force, said at the Kuchyna air base today that the entire Slovak air fleet, formed from its share of federal military aircraft would be assembled in Slovakia by December 18. It will consist of 229 Russian-designed or Czechoslovak machines of which 114 are battle aircraft.

Summit To Improve Ties With Romania Suggested

AU1012114592 Budapest MTI in English 1311 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)—Recent events in Romania, including the placement of an inscription on the Matthias Statue in Cluj, unjustified slowness in letting vehicles cross the border and the introduction of a petrol duty hitting foreign cars, including Hungarian, have not contributed to good relations between Hungary and Romania, Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman told the press on Tuesday [8 December].

In a move to improve ties, Hungary favoured the idea of a summit and a foreign ministerial meeting—as Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky wrote earlier in a letter to his Romanian counterpart, State Minister Teodor Melescanu—Herman said.

Hungary was prepared for a genuine summit that could yield concrete results, the spokesman added.

In his letter, Jeszenszky proposed resuming talks that had been suspended in the summer of 1992 and implementing proposals specified in a memorandum at that time.

In the first stage, state secretaries should clarify issues that pose obstacles to the conclusion of a minorities protection agreement, the expansion of the network of foreign representations and the conclusion of cultural and economic agreements.

Talks on the Hungarian-Romanian basic agreement, primarily on the so-called border clause and a clause on national minorities, should continue simultaneously. Both sides had already agreed on 75 per cent of the text, Herman said.

The third stage mentioned in Jeszenszky's letter would be a foreign ministerial meeting, which would sum up conclusions from previous talks and make set the date and agenda of a summit meeting.

The spokesman said that, in part due to a December 4 note from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, waiting time for trucks on the Hungaro-Romanian border had decreased from 60 to 30 hours.

Refusal of Romanian Extradition Request Denied

LD0912225792 Budapest MTI in English 1513 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Denials came from Hungary on Wednesday [9 December] that it had rejected a Romanian application for the extradition on charges of incitement to murder of former Romanian Interior Minister Alexandru Draghici. No decision has been made about the extradition, says a communique issued by the Hungarian Justice Ministry.

On 9 December, some Hungarian dailies quoted the Romanian news agency ROMPRES and Romania's Justice Ministry as saying that Hungarian authorities were refusing to extradite Draghici, charged with political murder, on statute limitation grounds.

The Hungarian communique claims the situation is as follows:

The Hungarian Justice Ministry, in charge of examining extradition requests, sent a letter to the Romanian Justice Ministry on 2 November 1992, informing it on extradition proceedings against Draghici in Hungary. The letter asked Romanian authorities for information within two months on all circumstances not described in the extradition request which might affect Hungary's decision.

The Budapest Municipal Court failed to launch extradition proceedings against Draghici as the information provided by Romanian authorities suggested that the limitation on the crimes with which Draghici was charged had expired. Therefore, under the joint extradition agreement, the request has to be denied.

The Romanian request says that, on 4 December 1954, Draghici, then interior minister, ordered subordinates to kill a Romanian citizen who had failed to show proper respect towards him.

Since the request was inaccurate in several aspects, Hungary let Romanian authorities add to it. The two-month deadline expires on 2 January 1993. Hungary has no reply from Romania to date.

EC To Set Up Observer Mission in South

LD0912224192 Budapest MTI in English 1443 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Agreements on the work in Hungary of an EC observer mission and of an EC and CSCE sanctions mission were signed in Hungary's Foreign Ministry on Wednesday [9 December].

The documents were signed by Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi, Swedish Ambassador Sten Daniel Stromholm, and British Ambassador John Allen Birch.

Under the memorandum on the EC mission, EC observers deployed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia are to monitor developments in the border region of Hungary and the former Yugoslavia. The aim of the mission is to promote the preservation of peace and security and to prevent conflicts in the border region. Under the document, the mission starts operation in Hungary as soon as possible and its mandate remains in force until withdrawn.

The work of the EC observers is to be coordinated by a regional coordination centre in Hungary. The observers, authorised to move freely anywhere in the country, will

have the right to set up sub-regional centres in Hungary. The agreement says EC observers work unarmed, in distinctively marked civilian clothes. Costs of the mission are borne by the EC observers and Hungarian authorities.

The mission's activity will mean a guarantee for the region, Martonyi said after signing the document. Budapest has long called for EC observers in Hungary and it welcomes the present agreement, reassured that an effective and reliable international supervisory system will be established along the border of the new Yugoslavia.

The observers will be centred in Szeged, south Hungary, Martonyi said. The mission is expected to be set up within a week. Staff numbers and technical details will be given later.

Antall Meets Hungarian Leaders From Subcarpathia

AU0912151992 Budapest MTI in English 1844 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—Hungary continues to seek excellent relations with Ukraine, and the government gives special consideration to countries with Hungarian minority populations, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said on Monday [7 December].

Antall was meeting leading officials from Subcarpathia's Hungarian Cultural Association, President Sandor Fodo, Deputy President Sandor Milovan and Political Secretary Geza Gulacsi.

Fodo explained the economic, political, and cultural position of Subcarpathian Hungarians. Regarding Hungarian-Ukrainian relations, he said there was no minority conflict in the region.

Both sides saw a need to support Subcarpathian Hungarians. The prime minister said he regards Subcarpathia's Hungarian Cultural Association as their general interest organisation. Antall placed strong emphasis on the importance of supporting educational and cultural institutions in Subcarpathia.

President, Premier in Conflict Over TV Head

LD0912221292 Budapest MTI in English 2121 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—At the proposal of Justice Minister Istvan Balsai, the government suspended TV president Elemer Hankiss, currently under disciplinary procedure, from his office under the law on the legal status of civil servants. During the time of suspension, all rights due to the president will be exercised by Vice President Gabor Nahlik.

The government seems to have decided to take a crucial step in the media dispute. As reported, President Arpad Goncz's letter, in which he refuses to meet Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's request to dismiss the presidents of the public service television and radio, was published today. In his reply, Antall termed this move as unlawful.

In the background lies an authority-related dispute between the president of the republic and the prime minister, who both interpreted the relevant Constitution Court ruling as a confirmation of their own positions.

It is a fact that according to the 1990 law on appointment procedures, the president of the republic is competent to appoint or relieve public service media presidents at the prime minister's proposal. He may turn down such a proposal only if he deems it would offend against democracy.

Goncz argues that in the absence of a media law, the dismissal of presidents or the appointment of new presidents would allow for the provision of biased information to the general public. Now the government acted on the strength of a law passed in early summer, which rules that public media employees are civil servants.

The government last week started a disciplinary action against Hankiss on the suspicion of financial abuses. According to Hankiss, the procedure is unlawful because, in his opinion, his employer is the head of state, and not the government.

The unexpected government decision is likely to trigger fierce political squabbles between the opposition, which supports the president of the republic, and the government coalition.

Socialists Hold National Conference

AU0912152392 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 6 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 6 Dec (MTI)—From Hungary's party palette, the Socialists miss a European-standard right, Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] chairman Gyula Horn said at a national party conference on Saturday [5 December].

The socialists do not consider the Hungarian Democratic Forum and its coalition partners, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democrats a European-style right, Horn said.

Analysing internal developments, he said all conditions are given for the government and Parliament to govern the country, therefore, responsibility for developments also lies with them.

According to Horn, the government feels the attitudes of Hungarian President Arpad Goncz to be more and more inconvenient and, by pressure from its extremist followers, the governing coalition wants to force the president to step down.

The HSP calls upon Hungary's parliamentary parties to start talks on issues crucial to stabilize the country. Horn

proposed the six parties to work out an agreement to find ways to handle growing tension in the country.

At the meeting, Socialist MP Laszlo Bekesi outlined the HSP's social-economic model. The realization of the model would be a modern society giving an equal chance for everyone to live honestly. Current Hungarian phenomena and the government's policies, however, fail to take the country closer to social market economy. Hungary is turning more and more towards the latin american model, Bekesi said.

The meeting adopted a statement saying Hungary needs social peace and a solution to its economic and social problems.

Skubiszewski Optimistic for Polish-Slovak Ties

LD0912185292 Warsaw PAP in English 1311 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski termed his Wednesday's [9 December] talks with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Knazko as very important and good. He added that this meeting is just the beginning of bilateral dialogue which will "create new quality in the Polish-Slovak relations".

He said that the establishing of economic ties adjusted to Slovakia's potential, cooperation within the Visegrad group and development of local cooperation will be of vital importance for the Polish-Slovak relations.

Milan Knazko said that good relations with the neighbouring countries, in particular with Poland, were the priority of Slovakia's foreign policy. The Slovak deputy prime minister said that he had invited Minister Skubiszewski to pay a visit to Slovakia to continue the talks.

CIA Reportedly Interested in Former General

AU0912093092 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-5 Dec 92 p 6

[Report by Wojciech Luczak: "The CIA Will Brainwash the General"—SZTANDAR MLODYCH headline]

[Text] "Why were the Poles the only ones caught in Frankfurt?" asked a senior Polish Army officer, who requested that he remain anonymous.

The affair was set up to restrain the Russians, who are becoming increasingly sure of themselves on the international arms market and are not too bothered about the warnings coming from across the Atlantic. Was that why the Russians, with whom negotiations were to have been held and a contract was to have been signed, suddenly lost interest in the deal? There is only one answer: They were warned!

Where Was Our Intelligence Service

"Only we, in our naivete, believe that Moscow's intelligence services were thrown into disarray and weakened by the USSR's collapse," said the officer. "They are operating effectively. Proof of that is that they did not even get involved in the trap that the United States had carefully constructed. However, the Poles did, abandoned and left to themselves. What were our intelligence services doing at the time? Does public opinion accept without question the information that several guys were privately and unofficially dealing in tens of thousands of Kalashnikovs and howitzers and that no one knew anything about it? Today, you get the impression that it was solely the affair of those several gentlemen and that everyone has washed their hands of it now, having been told off by Uncle Sam. The state has behaved in a way that one even feels ashamed to talk about it..."

The Hunt for Baranski

Of the five Poles now facing American justice—Wojciech Baranski, Jerzy Brzostka, Jan Gorecki, Zbigniew Grabowski, and Jerzy Napiorowski—the first, a retired general of arms, draws comment from military personnel, in particular. However, none of the officers that we spoke to were prepared to have their identities revealed and speak out publicly about the issue.

We decided to check the rumors that the United States had been hunting for Baranski and that in prison on the other side of the Atlantic the CIA will try to squeeze out all they can from the former deputy chief of the General Staff and former head of the Combat Training Main Administration. Most of the people that we spoke to were of the opinion that what the retired general knows about organizational and general staff matters is so outdated that there is no way in which he could become a target in some intelligence game. However....

Shortly before Jaruzelski's people found themselves on the way out, Baranski was dispatched to Cuba to serve as ambassador. "I do not think he was chosen at random," said one senior officer. "He stood out among the generals during the 1970's and 1980's by virtue of his intelligence. In my opinion, he had a lot of things to see to."

The Cuban Connection

A possibility that cannot be excluded is that Baranski was acquainted with many of Cuba's secrets. Some suggest that he was very well informed about the military and political links between the Castro regime and guerrilla groups in Latin America. Others mentioned our behind-the-scenes interests in that region of the world. Others believe that the greatest stake that the United States can play for in having Baranski in their hands, in their country and behind bars, is his excellent knowledge of the Havana political establishment.

All the officers that we spoke to, those who liked him and those who were convinced that he was a regime careerist and then became "a grownup boy who knew perfectly well that we was playing a risky game," believed that the tacit agreement to allow a Polish general to be treated in this way says all there is to say about the Polish authorities.

"It is irritating that some service can detain our general and wipe the floor with him, regardless of whether he was a red or not. It is an insult to our officers' sense of honor...."

"They have been thrown to the lions because they were communists. It is strange that at one stage there was even a sense of joy that 'reds' had been locked up in prison.

"What happened is a sign of the ruthless struggle that is in progress over a shrinking market. That is borne out by the fact that the United States will not even allow the competition one inch of space. It was also meant to serve as warning to all those who are leaving the Army having

acquired a considerable store of experience and now wish to set themselves up in some way by making use of their knowledge."

Many people also pointed south and said that the Czechs and Slovaks were not frightened by Uncle Sam's threats and are doing a good trade in the T-72 tanks made at Martin in the Middle East and selling L-39 aircraft, equipped with weapons, in every possible corner of the world. One hears the following conclusion from more or less official sources: "We have received $4.5 billion in U.S. aid since 1989. Our southern neighbors received nothing. There was a point at which a billion helped stabilize the zloty and ensured its convertibility."

However, ordinary mortals still have doubts about whether we know what to do with the substantial part of that capital, which is still to be used.

Walesa Meets With Regional Press Representatives

WS0912133192 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1456 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] A meeting between Lech Walesa, the president of the Republic of Poland, and editors in chief of the regional press took place at the Belweder [presidential palace].

The meeting, held at the invitation of the president of the Republic of Poland, was attended by representatives of approximately 60 dailies and weeklies. When welcoming the guests, the president, among others, said: "I am wondering who should actually take on greater responsibility for what is happening in the country. Should it be the factory worker, or should it be the one who is unemployed [passage indistinct] those who live near the center, who know more about the law, and who have less solidarity are living well in this country. One cannot obtain effective law, one cannot bring a legislator to justice, and many other things. The worker, and the average citizen sees all of this and lays it at the president's door. (...) I would really like to see all of you begin talking about it because we are all in the same boat. (...) We have achievements as well, but I would like to talk about what is wrong, unjust, because this is what I am primarily interested in. Therefore, in the name of responsibility for the future of our Republic and because you are the elite who, after all, is creating and proposing something. In my opinion we should jointly think about what to do better, how to protect ourselves and how to achieve better results in every area."

Some questions concerned the problems of the regions that the papers came from; the president was, therefore, asked how he evaluated local self-government activities, the problems of Silesia, and small municipalities that are often referred to as the third-rate Poland. He was asked about the role of the president's office; the implementation of the Small Constitution; reasons for the possible creation of a presidential party; the president's stance on the country's most important issues including the government's economic policy against the backdrop of unemployment and prospects for private capital in Poland. The issue of a referendum on abortion was brought up as well. The president was also invited to visit the regions, and local newspapers. The president, in turn, promised that there would be more such meetings with regional newspaper representatives.

Walesa Addresses Navy Servicemen in Ustka

WS0912133292 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1417 GMT 5 Dec 92

[Communique from the President's Press Office]

[Text] Lech Walesa, the president of the Republic of Poland, attended a military swearing-in ceremony for servicemen at the Navy Specialists Training Center (CSSMW) in Ustka. After a mass celebrated by Franciszek Cybula, the Republic of Poland's presidential chaplain, and following the swearing-in ceremony, the president delivered a speech. At the end of the celebration, the president and commander in chief of the Polish Armed Forces reviewed the Ustka garrison subunits.

Military Swearing-in Ceremony at CSSMW in Ustka

Lech Walesa, the president of the Republic of Poland, attended the military swearing-in ceremony at the Navy Specialists Training Center in Ustka. After a mass celebrated by Franciszek Cybula, and following the ceremony, the president delivered a speech:

"Soldiers, you have sworn a military oath. You accepted the responsibility of service and loyalty to your fatherland. You have committed yourselves to stand guard over the honor of the Polish soldier.

"The swearing-in day is a very solemn day. It is preceded by long preparations. I remember experiencing it myself. I pressed my uniform, polished my boots, cleaned my weapon. I was thinking about my first leave. The uniqueness of the day is not, however, limited to this. The swearing-in ceremony is a moment of change. It is a great change.

"You have committed yourselves to serving your country with your life. You confirm your readiness for the highest sacrifice. Carrying arms from this moment on, you will become guardians of independence and the sovereignty of this country's borders—guardians of the safety of the inhabitants of our land.

"Soldiers, I know that military service is not easy. I know that sometimes it is strict and difficult. You had to leave your homes and your families, change your habits, and submit to rules of military life; you gave up some of your personal freedom. You are fulfilling your military duty. Military service to the fatherland is a necessity, but also an honor. The state needs defenders. It must have an efficient, vigilant, and effective army. As long as there are dangers, the army is indispensable. Disregarding the

issues of defense may cost us dearly. Remember that he who does not respect his own army, will be forced to respect an foreign army.

"I am saying this not only as the commander in chief of the Armed Forces. I am saying this as a father of a soldier who is standing among you. I am proud that my son, like his brother, has found himself in the army ranks and is serving his country as you do.

"I wish you fortitude and endurance. I want you to experience the satisfaction of a job well done in the honorable service to our holiest republic."

At the end of the ceremony, the president and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, reviewed the Ustka garrison subunits.

Minister Rokita on Referendum Issue

PM1012093092 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with Minister Jan Maria Rokita, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, by correspondent Witold Sokala; place and date not given]

[Text] *Should termination of pregnancy be punished by imprisonment? The Christian National Union [ZChN] persuaded an extraordinary Sejm commission to submit a repressive parliamentary bill on the protection of conceived life. Throughout the country, citizens' committees are being set up advocating a national referendum on this issue. The press, on the other hand, has been repeatedly publishing ever new "waves" of speculation on the anticipated consequences of this conflict for the stability of the government coalition.*

GAZETA KRAKOWSKA asked Minister Jan Maria Rokita, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, about the referendum.

[Sokala] What stand does the government assume on this matter?

[Rokita] The government assumes no stand. All ministers in the government, led by Prime Minister Suchocka herself, have been repeating this ad nauseam. A fundamental cornerstone of the interparty compact concerning the creation of the coalition government was the principle that the government would not express its opinion on issues of ideological nature that could demonstrably divide the coalition parties into opposing camps or even divide individual parties into fractions. This rule is observed very rigorously indeed.

[Sokala] Why are you yourself against the idea of a referendum?

[Rokita] Certainly not for the reasons most frequently quoted from church pulpits. I believe that the very core of the argument promoted by the church is incorrect. This is because it is not true that a referendum asking whether termination of pregnancy should be punished by a prison sentence is a referendum on moral principles. The particular question that the referendum would ask can be considered solely in terms of political and legislative dimensions. In my opinion, from a moral viewpoint a referendum of that kind would be admissible.

Nevertheless, I am against calling the referendum in the specific political circumstances of the present time, and this is for a very simple reason. The conflict around the anti-abortion bill is for the time being taking place in the parliamentary forum. A referendum will automatically carry this conflict into every home, every family, and onto every church pulpit... In practical terms, this will mean that the question of the anti-abortion bill will for a prolonged period attract the attention of the Polish public and divide it against itself. This, in turn, means that we can expect an intensive political campaign to be conducted for a long time under the slogan: "Who is for, and who is against, making abortion a punishable criminal offense." I want to avoid such a situation. I believe that a campaign of that sort would be ominous, damaging, and even more prolonged than the notorious "war at the top." And for this reason, in our specific circumstances, I do not want such a referendum. I believe that the whole set of questions involving abortion, decommunization, and other ideological obsessions, which are very deep-rooted indeed in our country, should be minimized and pushed to the margins of the public and political life. What we certainly should not do is galvanize public opinion to a frenzy by highlighting these problems.

[Sokala] Is there any chance of a compromise on the referendum question?

[Rokita] If there is, it is very small and, worse, it is gradually decreasing even more, since the positions taken by opposing camps are becoming more and more extreme. On the one hand we see the emergence of centers of an openly anticlerical nature, which only serve to strengthen the bishops in their conviction that everything which is associated with the import of Western culture into our country—including the press, radio, and television, as well as Western capital—is by its very nature anticlerical; worse, that it is actually directed against God himself... On the other hand, we note a consolidation of a fundamentalist position concerning the abortion question: It even won by a majority vote in the Sejm Extraordinary Commission.

Is a compromise possible? I would very much like it to be. On the entire referendum question, that is precisely what the government is working on at present: to find a way to achieve a compromise. However, it is not done with much publicity—rather, most of the work is done "behind the scenes." For example, we are now conducting talks with representatives of the Episcopate... We hope to be able to restrain certain politicians who are pretending that they are even more Catholic than the pope and who have made a political credo out of the abortion issue. In any case, this is not something that has cropped up in the past few months: We have been

looking at it for about two years already. It is very difficult to convince the group of politicians I have just mentioned that in this particular case it would be better to score only a partial victory rather than crush the opponent uncompromisingly because the second course carries the threat of the outbreak of a religious war...

It would be most helpful if the views expressed by some bishops in private conversations—that the church is in fact not an advocate of prison sentences for abortion, and that it was the overzealous politicians who promote such a view—could find their way into their public statements.

[Sokala] Is the abortion issue likely to divide the Democratic Union into opposing camps again?

[Rokita] Only if someone undertook an attempt to transform the Democratic Union into a party which will decide—by means of a formal resolution or a call to observe party parliamentary discipline—to take a firm position on one of the opposing sides in this particular dispute. But then the Democratic Union would cease to exist as a party which is by definition nonideological and prepared to accommodate within its ranks people of differing world views. However, I believe that the danger of such a transformation is not particularly great. I believe that the most recent resolution of the Democratic Union National Executive, which very clearly favors nonpunishment of abortion and equally clearly forbids local party structures to set up pro-referendum committees, will help the Union maintain its balance—a balance which from its very inception was such a valuable trait of that party. And so there will be no danger that the Union might suffer a split because of the presence of Union members on pro-referendum committees...

Serbia Allows Detained Tug To Sail Home

AU0812204992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—The commander of the Romanian "Dragasani" tug, Danut Nuta, announced in a radiogramme that the customs authorities of the Port of Apatin, Serbia, allowed the ship to continue its voyage home, Tuesday, December 8.

The "Dragasani" ship was detained last week in retaliation to the a measure taken by the customs authorities of the Romanian Port of Galati, that did not allow three Yugoslav ships to leave the said port, in keeping with the UN embargo on Yugoslavia. The interim charge d'affaires of Yugoslavia in Bucharest, Djordje Koncar, told the Romanian minister of transport, Paul Teodoru, that the measure against the Romanian ship had been taken by local authorities, without the accord of the central authorities in Belgrade.

Negritoiu Discusses Reform, Market Economy

AU0912091392 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Dec 92 p 4

[Interview with Misu Negritoiu, minister of state and chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, by Gilda Lazar and Dan Vardie; place and date not given: "I Believe That There Will Be No Major Changes Within a Year...."]

[Excerpts] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Proceeding from the well-known idea that reform means dismantling a world so that another one can be built—not a different one, but a completely opposite one—how will you, a convinced reform fan, succeed in your attempts to reform, considering that three-fourths of the current government team consist of antireform people, that Mr. Vacaroiu prefers administrative leasing [locatia de gestiune] to privatization, that the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] is a left-wing party, and on top of all this, that Mr. Iliescu is a perestroyka fan, who although enlightened, is definitely not a reform fan?

[Negritoiu] I relied on the capability to convince people and send the message that there is no other alternative. In the statement that I made to the Economic Commission, which was obviously contested by politicians, I stated that transition is not a left or a right-oriented one. There is only one type of transition. We may refer to economic models only when we have established the structure of a market economy. Only then can one talk about transition, which is a political option, but transition is basically a technical process.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Then where does the expression "social market economy" come from?

[Negritoiu] I would like to make an important note here regarding my position within the structure of our leadership. The difference between Mr. Vacaroiu and myself might be a difference of language and not meaning. At least that is what can be seen from a few weeks of cooperation between us. I do not know what he has in mind when he says "social market economy." As a matter of fact, he has already explained this expression.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Does your explanation differ from Mr. Vacaroiu's?

[Negritoiu] I do not use this expression and believe that it is premature to refer to such a type of economy. We have not yet reached the point when I can opt for one type of economy or another. The share of the state in economy should be a maximum of 30-40 percent. But what is your option when you are a state sector that holds 90 percent? We are operating in an economy that is not typical and not perfect, while we are using perfect terms such as: price, interest rate, monetary fund, and so on and so forth. In a simplified way, the market economy is a relationship between dealer and buyer. The option for a social or nonsocial type of market economy might or might not be used because, I believe, it does not even produce the expected effects.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Nevertheless, the transition has a political meaning.

[Negritoiu] We have discussed this issue during our parliament debates. The political meaning can be reduced to two alternatives. When practicing an excessive liberalism, the greatest risk is in this commotion and action of unorganized forces within the economy, which can lead to social instability and this might endanger the reform itself. And that means you have blocked yourself and you have to turn back. The second alternative is to carefully follow the way in which one stage of transition is covered, which cannot be compared with any other economic model, but which leads you, nevertheless, to a certain economy and you take your choice only when you see the tunnel exit. I believe that the current period requires a social-democratic type of doctrine, which is advancing toward liberalism. Those are the principles, and regardless of the FDSN's political orientation or differences between myself and the prime minister or part of the government team, we should all accept this viewpoint. You were talking about administrative leasing, a term that Mr. Vacaroiu indeed keeps repeating as an alternative. I, however, do not believe that he is excluding privatization through this alternative.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Has the language difference between yourself and Mr. Vacaroiu that you mentioned before been one of the major reasons why he, and not you, was appointed prime minister? We know that on the day of the appointment, you were convinced that you would get to the Victoria Palace as prime minister and Mr. Vacaroiu would become minister of finance. The situation changed within half an hour. Why?

[Negritoiu] I do not know the reasons why Mr. Vacaroiu became prime minister and I became minister in charge of the reform. I seriously doubted that, under current circumstances, with my experience and my age, I could be the most suitable person to become prime minister. I

met the president one day before he took the oath. He did not tell me anything, although I was told not to leave the country. I thought it was ridiculous not to go. That is, I thought: I will not leave because I am waiting to become prime minister...."

[ROMANIA LIBERA] According to our information, you made a substantial contribution —we do not say that it was you who actually wrote it—to President Iliescu's investiture speech, which in a way, included ideas that oppose the ones that were circulated during the electoral campaign. Do you not believe that the president was afraid of what might happen if he appointed you prime minister?

[Negritoiu] I took it mainly as a positive sign, a sign of the president's openness and sincerity to embark on a reform program. That is how I interpreted my appointment to the current position.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Maybe the formula: 1) Vacaroiu, and 2) Negritoiu was adopted as a castling possibility in a less favorable moment for the government?

[Negritoiu] I do not know what would be the use. I am not a person for economic administration, such as Stolojan or Vacaroiu. I believe the current formula is good, even better than if the roles had been reversed.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Vacaroiu will be caught between several contradictory influences. Maybe at a certain point, the influence coming from Cotroceni will be the strongest.... How will you react?

[Negritoiu] You know very well that I count on the influence from Cotroceni.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you count on the idea that you will influence Cotroceni first, and then, indirectly, the prime minister?

[Negritoiu] I count on the idea that I will receive assistance from Cotroceni.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Returning to the governmental structure: It has changed again. According to what laws? New ministries have appeared, everything is changing, but according to what laws, what legal grounds?

[Negritoiu] Here there might be a fundamental problem and then juridical speculations. The innovation had been discussed. The Constitution was the starting point, but it was discovered that there is no organic law. Then, the current government looked at the precedence established by previous governments. Nevertheless, the government formula and structure have a legal foundation through a parliament decision (the confidence vote), which will later be sanctioned through an organic law that we will have to work out later.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] We suspect that you are talking about the law on organizing ministries. However, there was such a law, but it dates back to the prewar period, just as there is a trade code. The council that you are heading also includes the coordination of legislative projects and the institutional system. Will you take over the old Romanian laws and send them to the parliament in an updated form?

[Negritoiu] Yes, we will do that. What you just said is very precious information for me. In our documentation work, to make proposals for institutions or laws, we proceed from what existed in the past. The idea of management contact is not a new idea either. I based my idea on what I read from Grigore Gafencu's memoirs. There was such a contract before in the Romanian economy and legislation.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In the government, we heard talks regarding your council, which has been compared to a structure that existed during the Roman Government, the CRIP [expansion unknown] led by Adrian Severin. Everybody is afraid of restoration and a return to old ways. What is the difference between the two institutions?

[Negritoiu] I also heard talk about the two institutions being similar, although not in the government, but in the corridors of the government building. However, I believe that the CRIP never functioned as a council. Its supporting departments were the Department for Reform and Economic Integration, Department for Social-Political Structures, and Department for Information, which existed more on paper. Maybe each built up his clique and worked it the way he wanted. I do not believe that they worked properly.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] To penetrate the core of the problem and avoid further confusion, please tell us, what is the composition and task of this Council? What are its advantages?

[Negritoiu] The council has no decisionmaking power because it is a consultative body. We structured this body on two levels: an executive and a consultative level. The first one will have a Department of Economic Reform Strategy, which will include other sectors as well, such as the health system, education, and culture. We will add to it a department in charge of European integration, which will be based on the accord of association with the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] to which one can add the assistance programs of the Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary [PHARE]. In view of long-term integration—because I cannot see it as being possible in less than 10 years—we must achieve an adjustment to the European structures. We will work with a small number of people because we are interested in quality and not quantity. We want to establish a group of economic experts without political frontiers on a consultative level; we will invite various personalities to participate in this group—well-known people from both sides, starting with N.N. Constantinescu, for example, and ending with Ulm Spireanu. The decisionmaking, however, will rest with the government.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Will you not emphasize centralism in this way?

[Negritoiu] I am not avoiding a discussion regarding the role of the state. However, I have a certain authority: Everything that is being suggested in connection with the reform will pass through the Council so that we can express our opinions. The one who decides might or might not consider the proposal, but at least he decides while he is aware of various proposals. Certainly, in this way he might take risks. I am second in line—not necessarily in alphabetical order—regarding the person who has a say in things. Nobody can ignore me the way I ignore a state secretary.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you believe that competence and moral authority can impose themselves in our country?

[Negritoiu] It is an experiment. We want to offer a complete image that is motivated, fundamental, and credible and eliminates lack of functionality. I am talking about ideas that we worked out, but it will be more difficult in the future.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What will happen if the prime minister rejects a proposal, which you support?

[Negritoiu] It depends to what extent we stretch the dispute. When you promote an initiative, you must show flexibility and tolerance, up to the point when it seems to you that what is essential is breaking up. If we reach this extremity, certainly I will withdraw.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Which are the elements of the short-term strategy?

[Negritoiu] The guidelines of our strategy are the following: macroeconomic stabilization, institutional reform, and structural adjustment. Under the heading of short-term stabilization we will implement the policy of credits, interest rate, exchange rate, and the control of the monetary fund. We will start to restructure property, the system of prices, we will eliminate subsidies, and we will reform fiscal policy and the financial-banking institutions. The transformation of property we envisage as having the following three components: privatization, the restructuring of enterprises, and the development of the private sector. Proceeding from the evaluation of the situation included in the programs that have been worked out, we will have to diversify our privatization procedures and institutions, opting for a practical approach. [passage omitted]

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Are you thinking about a selective application of restructuring? Do you believe that people need a number of successes in order to become confident?

[Negritoiu] One variant might be to approach first the great industrial complexes, and then we might deal with the medium-sized ones. Nevertheless, we will introduce certain criteria such as the international price, for example. In order to be credible, we should start with regional projects. For example, let us take the Baia Mare region. In the field of industry, environment, agriculture, and tourism—areas for which we also have advisement from abroad—we can decide gradually what has to be done. For those who leave the mining industry, the state grants a 20-percent contribution to the value of the project or the business that the former miner wants to start. But returning to our initial subject, I believe that we will not have major, fundamental changes in one year. The issue of relaunching the economy itself is not very clearly defined and delimited. In 1993 we will finalize the distribution of property certificates, but I do not think that the effects for the citizen will appear sooner than 1994. And this only after the structural adjustment, which means a balance between work and pay and an increase in labor productivity. We will have to place prices on a real basis.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] There are signs of a revival of economic centralism. How will you react to this problem?

[Negritoiu] We are not witnessing a revival of centralism in the economy because, as a matter of fact, we have never given it up. Economic decentralization by distributing tasks and authority, without doing so in accordance with the property right, is a type of unfinished decentralization. We can talk about decentralization only after the state sector possesses half of the economy. I believe that there is a confusion of language—which we intend to eliminate through the provisions of laws 15 and 31—concerning the tasks of the CIS [Industrial Central for Iron and Steel] and of the CA [Civic Alliance]. I still do not know what we are going to replace the much contested CIS with. However, we must reestablish managerial authority. Certainly, managerial authority must be correlated with responsibility.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What beneficial economic effects will the act of introducing VAT [value-added tax] bring about?

[Negritoiu] The most important advantage is that a stable income to the budget is ensured. In this way, we can establish an expenditure program that includes the field of social protection and investments. The VAT is an almost perfect invention for taxes. Nobody can avoid VAT because it is an equal treatment for everybody. The VAT will be completed with the tax on global incomes. It is not correct that some people should pay income tax while others should pay next to nothing, because in the current system some really evade payment.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How do you believe that you will be able to stimulate foreign investments in your current position?

[Negritoiu] Through the coherence of the program and stability we will have a better "product" to sell. After we define the product, we will have to improve promotion forms and the system of services. An opinion poll shows that among the reasons that determine foreign investors to come to our country, tax exemption represents only 7

percent. And last but not least, an improvement of the image abroad can also contribute to the penetration of foreign capital.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Are you or any other member of your family involved in any firm?

[Negritoiu] Neither I nor my parents, my in-laws, sisters, brothers-in-law, wife, children, and their children—that is, nobody—is a shareholder in any company or participates in any way to the establishment of a private company. My wife and her brother work with a private company as employees. I have never been in a CA or CIS and I have never had any income other than my salary and daily allowances.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Now the capitalist class is being established. Have you thought about what its structure will be? What will be the proportion of former Securitate members, of former nomenclature, of former militiamen, and the proportion of the rest of the people?

[Negritoiu] Is there still room for the rest?

Spokesman Discusses Integration With Moldova

AU0912200592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1816 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES,9/12/1992—The spokeswoman for the Foreign Ministry, Simona Miculescu, told a Wednesday, December 9, press conference, that during the recent interview the Moldovan Foreign Minister [Nicolae Tiu] had in Bucharest with his Romanian counterpart, special attention had been granted to the cooperation between the two ministries, in order to enlarge brotherhood relations between the two countries, including their economic integration and cultural and spiritual ties. Mrs. Miculescu added that demarches were being made for a new interview of the ministers of external affairs of Moldova, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine, to be held in Stockholm, on the occasion of a coming meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE countries. Romania considers such a contact to be very useful for further joint efforts in seeking a political solution to the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester.

On another line of thought, the spokeswoman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry showed that "respecting the will of the Czech and Slovak peoples, Romania is ready to recognize the Czech and the Slovak Republics, as distinct subjects of international law, to have friendship and cooperation links with them both. Romania will be one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the two."

Mrs. Miculescu mentioned that Romania would attend a meeting of the Black Sea countries' foreign ministers to be held on December 10 at Antalya, Turkey. "We consider the economic cooperation among the Black Sea countries to be important for the economic recovery of the countries crossing a transition period. This cooperation has to remain open, flexible, it has to act as a democratic structure, on the basis of the CSCE principles and norms, and it must be part of a system of regional projects and initiatives, including the central European initiative, cooperation in the Mediterranean and in the North Sea, cooperation among the Danube countries, and so on."

Spokeswoman Simona Miculescu also announced that on December 10 and 11 Romanian-Canadian political consultations would take place in Ottawa at the level of the two countries' foreign ministry executives. The bilateral political consultations are to make an assessment of the current stage in bilateral ties as well as to identify possibilities for the future Romanian-Canadian collaboration both bilaterally and internationally in matters of interest to both countries.

As part of the actions the Romanian Foreign Ministry has taken to bring Romanians in the diaspora nearer to the motherland, Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary of State Adrian Dohotaru had several interviews with representatives of the Romanian communities in Berlin, Bonn, New York, Montreal, Toronto, Chicago, Cleveland, and Washington on the eve of Romania's national day. While in Washington he had an interview with the First Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Canada, Ralph Johnson. The talks evinced the United States Government's appreciation for Romania's efforts toward furthering the reforming process and surmounting the difficulties it is being faced with. They showed that the U.S. State Department considered there were positive developments in Romania, just as favorable prospects for the expansion of bilateral ties. The foreign ministry spokeswoman specified that the U.S. had in view the signing of an accord on assistance to Romania worth $10 million to back privatization in agriculture.

Diplomatic consultations will also be held in Vatican City, Rome, and in San Marino, which are to approach questions related to Romania's links with the Holy See, with Italy, and the Republic of San Marino, as well as to find ways for their development in spheres of mutual interest.

Constantinescu Assesses Relations With UDMR

AU0912151792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1003 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/12/1992—Emil Constantinescu, newly elected president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], assesses in an interview with weekly EXPRES that "the ethnic criterium is not the usual criterium in an advanced democracy, for any party." But, Constantinescu added, "in a period of transition and establishment of structures I believe the existence of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] has had a positive role. I mean it has moved the debate to the political life and to the parliament, thus creating a decompression in relations and easing the tensions. And, in spite of the repeated attempts to create diversions, it has been proved they

could no longer be successful in Romania. Romania holds a far better position in this respect than many of the formerly totalitarian states in Central and Eastern Europe."

Referring to the relations between DC and UDMR, Emil Constantinescu recalled that the UDMR had participated in elections with lists of its own, but also retained its place in the CD political forum. "The convention is not a super party. It discusses at top level and the radical personalities on the UDMR leadership do not belong to the UDMR leadership accredited to participate in the proceedings of the dc which is entirely made up of moderate persons.... The problems of an extremist nature in the UDMR are problems of the UDMR," the Democratic Convention president said.

Dissent Reported Within National Liberal Party

AU0912174192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1453 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/12/1992—The expulsion of Valeriu Stoica and Radu Stroe from the National Liberal Party [PNL] last week has sharpened the older confrontations within that political party and the common denominator is the contesting of the party leader, Radu Campeanu.

During a news conference early this week, Valeriu Stoica and Radu Stroe (both front-rankers of the PNL), members of the PNL's group for moral reform, read a letter sent to Radu Campeanu in which the signatories demand "his removal from the office of chairman and the removal of the members of the party leadership who were not elected in a statutory manner." The two accused Radu Campeanu and his collaborators of "playing the game of the power and closing their eyes to the truth, thus rendering even spying activities fair and legal."

In an interview with the newspaper COTIDIANUL, Valeriu Stoica considered Radu Campeanu as the man responsible for the current situation within the PNL and for its lack of success in the [27 September general] elections. "The undemocratic structure of Mr. Campeanu's personality," said Stoica, "explains the division of the liberal movement and the impossibility to achieve the unity of the opposition." Stoica foresees the party leader's total failure at the extraordinary conference of the PNL, which is to he held soon.

Vacaroiu, TU Officials Discuss Economic Situation

AU0812205192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1913 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu opened talks with trade union representatives at Victory Palace in Bucharest on Tuesday, December 8.

His invitation was answered by the leaders of the main trade union confederations, less the Fratia Confederation and the National Council of Free Trade Unions of Romania.

Attending the talks on behalf of the executive were Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of state and minister of labor and social protection, Iacob Zelenko, the government's authorized representative in the relations with trade unions and employers, as well as experts and representatives of a number of ministries.

Opening the meeting the Romanian premier said he wanted to promote an open dialogue on current problems of the economic and social life and to have subsequent talks on specific aspects.

In his exposition the premier outlined the current situation, which he assessed as very difficult, and stressed that "as to the neighboring countries Romania registered the most marked drop in industrial production—23-24 per cent as to last year." At the same time, he reiterated the main objectives pursued by the current cabinet underscoring in the context "the continuation of the reform process with emphasis on privatization but with adequate social protection." He said that "the only way to solve the country's serious problems is to boost material production." From this point of view, the immediate targets of the executive concern the application of the management contract with performance criteria for the boards of administrators of the commercial companies, the improvement of the indexation mechanism, the reexamination of the laws worked out in the economic area over the past two and a half years, the application of new privatization mechanisms, the stabilization of the exchange rate of the national currency and the conclusion of price negotiations before this year's end.

In conclusion, the prime minister requested trade union leaders to explain to the people the complexity of the current situation and to cooperate with the government in attaining the envisaged targets.

Daily Predicts Unemployment of 1.2 Million Shortly

AU0812173292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1009 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—In Romania the numbers of the unemployed is likely to reach 1.2 million, writes Bucharest daily newspaper TINERETUL LIBER.

The feature goes on to show that for next year several programmes are scheduled, to retrain the unemployed and restructure social protection. Some of those were made starting from credits granted Romania by the World Bank and the International Labor Organization, as well as by two PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programmes. The feature reads that "the effects of the first PHARE programme should

have become conspicuous as of this year, through the use of the two million ECU [European Currency Unit]."

Alas, everything was confined to some discussions with PHARE experts, the conclusions thereof to be released this month, and the programme proper will start in 1993—TINERETUL LIBER writes.

The second PHARE programme concerns an assistance system for the unemployed and its financing is 5 million ECU. But this one isn't in an advanced state either. Therefore the daily concludes: "There are programmes and intentions, through cooperation with both the World Bank and the European Community, but they yielded no results." To support that conclusion the daily argues that: There are only 13 retraining centers for the unemployed all over Romania, and out of 600,000 unemployed registered in 1991 only 42,000 benefited from those courses and 9,000 of those then found new jobs.

European Investment Bank To Grant Further Loans

AU1012115592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1951 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Brussels, ROMPRES 9/12/1992—Romanian Finance Minister Florin Georgescu met on 9 December in Brussels with the Vice-President of the European Investment Bank, Hans Duborg [name as received], with whom he approached aspects of the government's program in the economic reform. Agreement was reached on the further collaboration between Romania and the European Investment Bank, with emphasis on Romania's defining precisely the projects in the spheres of joint interest like infrastructure, telecommunications, transport, and energy. Romania was promised to be granted further advantageous long-term credits with a preferential interest rate, which will provide for the improvement of the national infrastructure and, thereby, for the creation of the basis for the development of market economy mechanisms.

Gherman Receives Lebanese Commerce Chairman

AU0912200692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/12/1992—The President of the Romanian Senate, Oliviu Gherman, received Wednesday, December 9, Adnan Kasser, President of Lebanon's Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Kasser mentioned during the interview that he intended to contact Romanian bodies that could assist him in opening an Arab bank in Bucharest, belonging to the bank group he is heading. The guest mentioned that such a bank would open new ways in the development of Romania's economic and commercial ties with the Arab world.

Mr. Kasser specified that he wanted to headquarter his bank in Romania, as it is a stable country now, which had held free elections and is making great efforts to relaunch its economy.

Erno Raffay Heads Hungarian Military Delegation

AU0912174092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1459 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/12/1992—Upon an invitation extended by Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, Secretary of State and Chief of Staff of Romania, Doctor Erno Raffay, Political Secretary of State in the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Hungary, is paying a visit to Romania over December 8-12, as head of a military delegation.

On the occasion, the press bureau of the Romanian Army reports, talks will be conducted at the headquarters of the general staff and of the Ministry of National Defense, military units and places of tourist interest will be visited, and meetings will be held with officials in the localities of Cluj-Napoca and Tirgu Mures.

Rifkind Suggests 'More Powerful' UN Response

LD0812214592 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1942 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Report by Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defense correspondent, in Bosnia]

[Text] Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind indicated tonight that if British troops in Bosnia are attacked they could hit back with much more powerful firepower. Asked whether the United Nations mandate should be changed to allow greater use of force to get aid through to embattled communities, he appeared to indicate that mortars and Milan anti-tank missiles could be used to return fire.

Mr. Rifkind's response—at the forward British operating base in Vitez after a gruelling nine-hour journey through mountain passes—was met with surprise by British officers. It is understood that current British operating rules forbid the use of both weapons. But Milan, which has a range of two kilometres, and 81mm mortars with a range of six kilometres, have been taken to Bosnia. The troops are finding they are often fired on by mortars or artillery out of range of the 30mm cannons mounted on the Warrior armoured vehicles and Scimitar light tanks. Approval for the use of Milan and mortars would greatly increase the force's ability to hit back powerfully and effectively. The 81mm mortar can put down a very heavy weight of fire on a target in a very short period. It is described in official Army manuals as "particularly lethal" for forcing artillery to close down. It is thought that more than 30 percent of British battlefield casualties in World War Two were caused by enemy mortar fire. Milan, used with great success in the Gulf war, is a highly accurate and deadly weapon, which the operator guides to its target using wires.

Mr. Rifkind said he was happy that the British force was successfuly achieving its aim to get humanitarian aid through to those in need. During his journey along mountain passes which soar to more than 6,000 feet above sea level, he was able to see at first-hand the problems the troops face escorting convoys along narrow treacherous routes covered in snow and ice.

Rules Out Military Intervention

LD0912190592 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1318 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Report by Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent in Split, Croatia]

[Text] Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind today ruled out Western military intervention to bring peace to war-ravaged Bosnia. He stressed at the end of a three-day tour of British bases in the region that such intervention could not be done without a huge number of forces and the certainty of large-scale casualties.

But he also made it plain that British troops could use their 81mm mortars and Milan anti-tank missiles in self-defence. The mortars will give extra firepower and range—up to six kilometres—to combat the problem of attack from Serb mortars and artillery which are out of range of the 30mm cannons on Warrior armoured vehicles and Scimitar light tanks. British commanders were under the impression that the rules of engagement strictly forbade the use of either weapon. But Mr. Rifkind said: "They are free to use mortars if the commanders on the ground believe they are required for self-defence."

While Mr. Rifkind has consistently warned against any international attempt to impose a military solution to the fighting in the war-torn former Yugoslavia, the Foreign Office has in recent weeks adopted a more hawkish attitude. It was examining limited military options such as air strikes on Serb airfields to enforce the no-fly zone over Bosnia.

But Mr. Rifkind, speaking today aboard the Royal Fleet Auxiliary Argus in the Croatian port of Split, stressed: "Nothing I have seen in the past 24-48 hours changes my judgement. What I have seen and heard reinforces my view that it would be most unwise to contemplate using UN forces to bring fighting to an end by force. However desirable that result might be, noone I've met believes it could be done by the UN and that it could even influence the situation in any significant way without a huge increase of UN forces for an indefinite period with the certainty of a large number of casualties. It is likely that military options will be reviewed when the second international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina convenes in Geneva on December 16." Mr Rifkind said he was satisfied that aid was getting through to communities in need. He said morale was high and described the operation as "highly professional."

The Defence Secretary also confirmed a PRESS ASSOCIATION report that the Royal Navy's four Sea King helicopters would take on a key new role in the region. They will be used to carry out reconnaissance for safe routes in Bosnia and fly urgently-needed stores to British bases and troops.

UN Warns Serbs To Halt Sarajevo Offensive

LD1012114992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] United Nations, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council has warned Bosnian Serbs that rigorous measures will be taken against them and their supporters if their offensive on Sarajevo continues.

The warning is contained in a statement issued by the council president late Wednesday [9 December] night, at the end of a session which discussed latest developments in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The statement says that the Security Council is concerned over reports about the offensive resumed by Serb

forces, especially on Sarajevo, and over the "forcing of Sarajevo residents to leave the city."

The Security Council warns that the actions aimed at obstructing humanitarian assistance and forcing residents to leave Sarajevo, including the possibility of ethnic cleansing, may seriously affect the overall situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnian Serb Army Command denied on Tuesday that its units were bombarding Sarajevo and warned about strong Moslem infantry and artillery attacks on Serb positions in the city and the surrounding area. Approximately 600 artillery shells and rocket missiles are fired daily on the Serb-controlled parts of Sarajevo, causing considerable civilian casualties, says a statement sent to the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) headquarters.

The leadership of Bosnian Serbs also said it wanted citizens to leave Sarajevo freely, contrary to the Moslem authorities who were holding Serbs in Sarajevo as "ethnic hostages."

According to foreign agency reports, U.N. Secretary General Butrus Ghali recommended to the Security Council on Wednesday to send a battalion of U.N. peacekeepers to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The recommendation is based on a report submitted by a U.N. mission which stayed in Macedonia from November 28 to December 3. The force for Macedonia would include some 700 blue helmets, 35 military observers, and 26 policemen and other auxiliary staff.

Bosnian Serbs Set To Release Nearly 3,000 POW's

LD1012132192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, December 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Thursday [10 December] told TANJUG that the first group of 1,000 prisoners of war would leave the Serb-held POW camp in Manjaca already on Monday [14 December] and that the others would be released by Friday. Karadzic reached an agreement on this with president of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Samaruga on Wednesday [9 December].

There are around 3,000 POW's in Manjaca, Karadzic said, including 50 war criminals who will not be released. "We wish to close all POW camps, to release all prisoners, we simply want the war to end," Karadzic said, pointing out the fact that Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not kill prisoners and that they respect the Geneva Convention.

Karadzic underscored that Samaruga expressed gratitude to the Serb side for its cooperation because Bosnian Serbs have already released around 2,600 POW's, while Moslems have released only 26.

The Bosnian Serb leader expressed hope that the Moslem and Croat sides would release all the imprisoned Serbs, since Samaruga had promised to pressure them to do so.

It was agreed with Samaruga that collaborator of Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, Daniel Salvatore Schaeffer, would join the action for the release of all POWs except war criminals from Manjaca before Christmas Day this year, since Italy has agreed to take over most of these people. Wiesel recently visited the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic explained that the recent call to civilians to leave Sarajevo had been misinterpreted in the world as a preparation of the Bosnian Serb side definitely to liberate Sarajevo. "This is actually part of a previous agreement signed by all three sides to enable civilians from Sarajevo to seek shelter elsewhere," Karadzic specified.

The Bosnian Serb side is particularly interested in Serbs, but Slovenes, Croats, Jews and Moslems are all guaranteed safe passage through Serb-held territory, Karadzic said.

Serbs Reportedly Racing To Capture Sarajevo

AU0812202092 Paris AFP in English 1943 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (AFP)—[passage omitted] A shell hit the communications building housing the Sarajevo UNPROFOR headquarters, wounding the secretary of Sarajevo's sector commander Egyptian General Hussein Ali Abdul Razek.

In other incidents, British troops were moving to rescue three aid workers whose vehicle was shot up in the town of Visoko, 35 kilometres (21 miles) northwest of Sarajevo. The workers, apparently for the International Rescue Committee (IRC), were not in the car at the time and asked for British troops to come get them, a U.N. spokesman said. He did not have further details.

As of 6:00 p.m. Sarajevo hospitals had taken in 104 wounded, mostly Bosnian soldiers, and there were also eight killed, six of them soldiers. Razek was negotiating with the Bosnian Serb army to reopen the road, the general told AFP while in the shelter under his headquarters after being shelled Tuesday [8 December]. But he said the Serbs did not cooperate despite their promises.

The failure of the airport to reopen was one more example of ceasefires and agreements not holding in Bosnia's war.

Rival Serb and Bosnia-Hercegovina government sides had met at Sarajevo airport on Monday to sign a protocol to stop fighting near the airport.

Bosnian government forces, who are mainly Moslem and Croat, were trying to counterattack after losing the western suburb of Otes to Serb forces last Friday, reliable military sources said.

They said the Serbs were responding to this, rather than mounting a new attack.

But other, also reliable military sources, said the Serbs had used the tank shellings as a cover to bring up more tanks and artillery, and had even massed troops along the southern front in Sarajevo.

They said the Serbs might be racing to capture Sarajevo before Bill Clinton becomes president in the United States on January 20 and ahead of possible changes in U.S. policy over former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Sarajevo was down to three days of supply of chlorinated water, U.N. officials here and in Geneva said.

Serb Army Reports Muslim Offensive in Sarajevo

LD0912144392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1344 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army on Wednesday [9 December] again accused Bosnian Moslem forces of launching an offensive on Serb positions in Sarajevo, the capital of the war-battered former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Over the past few days, the Moslems have blocked the major intersection in the suburb of Stup to prevent Sarajevo residents from moving from the Moslem-controlled to the Serb-controlled part of the city, the Serb Army headquarters said.

The Moslem forces launched a combined artillery-infantry attack on the Rajlovac-Zuc-Orlic area in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday. The attack was stepped up on Wednesday morning, the army said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina radio, controlled by Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, said that Moslem forces on the Sarajevo battlefield were very successful, but reported no fighting last night.

In northern Bosnia, in the area of Brcko and other towns along a strategic corridor linking the Serb-populated areas in northeastern Bosnia and the (?Sanska Krajina) region in the west, last night was relatively calm, the Bosnian Serb Army said.

Fighting continued at Gradacac and Doboj.

The Bosnian Serb Army also said the Army of the Republic of Croatia was still holding the Serb-populated territories in eastern Herzegovina. In the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, Croat-Moslem forces opened sporadic artillery and small arms fire on Serb positions there, the army added.

Muslim Forces Capture Sarajevo Suburb

AU1012121192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Army forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday liberated the peak 850 on Zuc Hill. The defenders had surrounded the chetniks' position on this (?hill) above Sarajevo for several days. The enemy resistance has finally ended. The units of the First Corps are continuing their combat activities and liberating new territories in the Vogosca area.

Several firing positions in (?the area) of Jezera and the cemetery in Zivkovici were neutralized before the aggressor's strongholds were taken. The forces of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina have already strengthened their positions in this region.

The capture of the peak 850 is of exceptional strategic and tactical importance because the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army now controls one compact area, suitable for both defense and further action around Sarajevo. What is also important is that a large amount of various types of weapons and ammunition was captured during the fighting in Zuc. Some 30 chetniks were liquidated. Despite the fact that the Golden Lillies [Muslims fighters] were constantly exposed to intense artillery fire, only several defenders were slightly woounded. This is stated by the information service of the First Corps.

Zagreb Radio Reports Battle

LD0912210192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] In fierce clashes today, the Sarajevo defenders captured the strategically important Zuc Hill. Since then, the Serb aggressor has been pounding the defense lines incessantly.

Fierce battles are being waged for Rajlovac and Vogosca. HINA has learned from the Sarajevo security center that infantry battles are raging around the Vrbanja bridge and Grbavica.

Serb forces are threatening to use Croats and Muslims as human shields unless the defenders ease their offensive on Grbavica. The operation to unblock Sarajevo is being directed toward the Sarajevo suburb of Vogosca, Bosnian military sources revealed today.

According to the Sarajevo security center, Serb forces are shelling Buca, Potok, and Bascarsija from multiple-rocket launchers. Shells also are falling on the city center and Alipasino Polje. They were falling on Velisici this afternoon.

Serb Commander Denies Capture

LD0912234492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2237 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Colonel Marcetic, deputy commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of

the Serb republic army, announced this evening that the summit of Zuc hill is in the hands of the Serb Army and that it will stay this way in the future, SRNA reports.

Col. Marcetic thus rejected the reports in the Muslim media, according to which the forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic took control of this important strategic point between Sarajevo and Vogosca.

Marcetic said that fighting on this part of the front died down by the evening and that Serb positions in the region of Zuc have been pushed forward at the expense of Muslim positions.

The Muslim forces suffered considerable losses in these battles and the commander of the tactical group that led a two-day Muslim attack on Zuc was among those killed, Col. Marcetic said.

Serbs Allow UN Convoy Through to Sarajevo

LD0912202092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 December (TANJUG)—A UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] convoy that was halted yesterday in Zvornik, left for Sarajevo early this afternoon following a thorough search of the vehicles carried out by representatives of the authorities of the Serb Republic, TANJUG has learned from the UNPROFOR in Belgrade.

UNPROFOR's largest previous supply convoy included 105 vehicles. The Serbian authorities yesterday allowed 15 vehicles carrying French soldiers to continue their journey. The remaining 90 trucks carrying equipment and foodstuffs for the "blue helmets" stayed in Zvornik overnight to have their cargo inspected.

UNPROFOR stresses that according to its reports communication was restored between Sarajevo and Kiseljak today. The Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina guarantees that everyone wishing to leave Sarajevo may do so along this route.

According to UNPROFOR in Belgrade, members of the British battalion of Blue Helmets yesterday rescued four members of the humanitarian organization "International Rescue Committee" who were blocked in Visoko by sniper fire. UNPROFOR says that this organization is sponsored by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Visoko is controlled by Croatian and Muslim forces.

Zvornik Garrison Command Stops UN Convoy

AU0912170292

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 9 December in its regular 37-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In his report from Sarajevo, Risto Djogo says that "fierce battles are taking place on the Sarajevo battlefield today. The Muslim green berets continue a strong offensive against Serbian positions. The fiercest clashes today took place on the territory of Rajlovac, Zuc, Vogosca, and Mrkovic. Muslim artillery supported by infantry is attempting a breakthrough along this line of the Serbian defense. Since the early morning hours, fierce battles have been going on. There are casualties on both sides, but neither of them has disclosed precise figures. Battles are still under way."

Boro Miljanovic reports from Zvornik that "a UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] convoy of 100 vehicles allegedly carrying humanitarian aid to Sarajevo was stopped on the bridge in Karakaj last night. According to Officer Lazar Pejic, deputy commander for information of the Serbian republican army's Zvornik garrison, the vehicles were stopped because a cargo inspection was not permitted, and often in the past they have contained weapons and ammunition. However, shortly before I was to send this report, it was learned that five vehicles belonging to Ukrainian UNPROFOR units have been allowed to pass. The rest of the convoy is still waiting on the Karakaj bridge on the left side of the Drina River."

Branislav Bozic reports from Banja Luka that "there has hardly been a single day in the past couple of months, provided meteorological conditions were suitable, without flights of so-far unidentified aircraft being registered. They are, of course, not humanitarian flights for the Sarajevo (?airport). Since just 1 December, 26 flights have been noted over the northern and western part of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, it has been learned from well-informed sources. During just one day, to be more precise on 4 December, there were 12 flights. Most often they take place between Zagreb and the Cazin region. It is assumed that these are cargo planes of a smaller type that most probable transport weapons."

Bosko Lomovic reports that "calm has been reigning in Brcko and the surrounding area for 30 hours" and that "traffic through the corridor is continuing without problems today."

Jelena Dabarcic reports that "today is the second consecutive day of no fighting on the Hercegovina battlefields. True, there are some armed provocations from infantry and artillery weapons by [words indistinct] Muslim forces against Serbian positions."

Serbs Said Using Chemical Weapons

LD0912180392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] The aggressor artillery fired five chemically-charged missiles at Velesici this afternoon, Bosnia-Hercegovina Army headquarters has stated, warning the people of Sarajevo to prepare to protect themselves from poisonous gases.

A fierce attack by the Serb artillery on all parts of Sarajevo is continuing. The heaviest infantry fighting is

taking place on Mt. Zuc, where both sides suffered losses. According to not as yet confirmed details, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army managed to take [words indistinct], but it is a question whether it will be able to keep it, because the aggressor has been shelling the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army all day. Buca Potok is being fired on with all sorts of heavy weapons: tanks and multiple rocket launchers. Around 30 houses have been demolished, but there have been no precise reports on the number of casualties. [passage omitted]

Serb Says Croatian Planes Flying to Bihac

LD0912193492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The press center of the First Krajina Corps of the Army of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] revealed today that "Croatian Air Force planes have been frequently flying over the former Bosnia-Hercegovina in the past few days."

The press center says four flights were detected on the Zagreb- Bihac flight path on 1 December, and a further five flights on the same flight path and one flight on the Osijek-Bihac flight path were reported on 2 December.

There were two flights on the Zagreb-Bihac flight path on 6 December. As many as 11 flights were registered on the same flight path and one on the Osijek-Bihac flight path on 3 December.

In all cases, AN-2 planes were used, so the First Krajina Corps headquarters believes equipment and weapons were brought for the Muslim forces.

AN-2 planes can carry up to two tonnes of freight or 12 people, aviation experts say.

Serb Ex-Prisoners on Conditions in Muslim Camps

93BA0283C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 8

[Article by Todor Micic: "These Were Death Camps"]

[Text] *Testimony of prisoners from the prison in Bihac; beatings and psychological tortures were not lacking in the process of the "reeducation" of imprisoned Serbs.*

Through the mediation of the International Red Cross, 25 prisoners of war arrived in Belgrade from Muslim camps in Bihac and the vicinity. Some of them arrived in an almost exhausted state with visible traces of beatings, strangulation, broken teeth... in a word, all of them survived a Golgotha and all of them are traumatized.

No one, however, could say for sure what would happen with the other prisoners on the list—whether and when they would be freed and transferred to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to our interlocutors, there are indications that a certain number of them were liquidated under the cover of night. Most of our interlocutors did not want their names to appear in the newspaper, because their people left in the area of Bihac and the Cazin Krajina would suffer.

"They had lists of all the Serbs. It was worst in the Luke prison. They beat us every day for several hours. I can say for certain that in Luke about 10 people were subjected to torture. People's ears were cut off, fingers broken.... One prisoner suffered a nervous collapse from the beating. Individuals did not come to themselves for several days. We experienced the worst agonies during the operation of the liberation of Golubic. In a word, the Luke prison is a real death camp."

The most extreme "reeducator," according to the stories of our interlocutors, is Josip Santic from Vedro Polje, formerly an employee of the TO [Territorial Defense] municipal headquarters in Bihac, and now one of the employees of the Muslim army's Security Service. As our interlocutor emphasized, every day that person has an assignment and tortures a couple of Serbs. In addition to the already notorious Santic, the following have already distinguished themselves through their extremism: Fadil Mujic from Sumar, i.e., Papar, Hamro from Orljan, and Izet, one of the guards.... All three torturers are highly ranked on the hierarchical ladder, and progress in the service is assessed according to how many new methods of "reeducation" they have invented.

"We had our most difficult moments when our families would come to visit," our interlocutors told us unanimously. "They appropriated the gifts that were brought for themselves. From one roast piglet, they brought us only the bones, and said, 'Cetniks, this is for you.' We did not even receive cigarettes; they bought us thousands of marks' worth."

Those who were telling us their torments tried to hold back tears. They tried to cover their already considerably wasted bodies. And at the end of this sad story, we should record the words of Smail Sehic, who said upon seeing off the imprisoned Serbs: "F... your Serbian mother—tell the Cetniks everything that we have done to you." That Smail Sehic was also a recent negotiator on the Muslim side in Lika's Petrovo Selo.

Serb Artillery Shells Zupanja Region

LD0812232792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2205 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] The Zupanja region in eastern Croatia was under attack again today. Serb artillery positions in Bosnia fired several dozen shells at Rajevo Selo this afternoon. Fresh damage was inflicted to both homes and businesses. No information is available concerning possible casualties. Serb gunners also fired some dozen mortar rounds at the village of Jaruge in the eastern part of Slavonska Posavina.

Babic Letter to Serbia's Leaders on Elections

93BA0289F Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Nov 92 p 5

[Letter by Dr. Milan Babic to certain politicians in Serbia]

[Text] Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Krajina SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], has sent a letter to a certain number of politicians in Serbia, which in part reads as follows: "No problem and no aspect of the Serbian question can or should be treated separately today. And readiness and determination to approach resolution of the Serbian nationality question as a whole today, not separately, is the best indication of responsibility before history on the part of any politician on the political and government scene where the destiny of the Serbian people is being decided at the end of the 20th century.

"The fact that even those who have placed us under their surveillance and who have punished us without guilt are looking at the Serbian people as a whole indicates that we are doing everything in every part of the Serbian land where the Serbian people live to organize life according to the standards of the world in which we live.

"One of those standards and preconditions for resolving the difficult economic, social, and political situation in the Serbian Republic Krajina is certainly the democratic election of representatives of its government authority.

"On 28 September 1992, the Krajina Assembly committed itself in a law to holding free elections by the end of 1992. In spite of that, the competent authorities in the Serbian Republic Krajina are not scheduling elections. On the contrary, they are doing everything to avoid holding elections.

"A government instituted in the Serbian Republic Krajina in free elections would gain the necessary legitimacy. Election of the bodies of government at all levels would strengthen the legal order in the Krajina, which would eliminate the danger of the use of force in carrying out the functions of government and in organizing life as a whole. Power based on the will of the people would on the domestic scene also gain the necessary authority which, by contrast with the present republic government, which rules by the use of force, would make it possible for it to govern along democratic lines.

"A government constituted in that way in the Serbian Republic Krajina would demonstrate at the international level that Krajina is capable of organizing the government and life of society in the Serbian Republic Krajina independently and according to the criteria adopted by the world and democratic principles. All of this would, of course, contribute to an incomparably better position of the Serbian Republic Krajina than the one it has today in negotiations over its governmental and political status—negotiations which must occur.

"Any postponement of elections in the Serbian Republic Krajina, or still worse, any frustration of elections, aside from doing irreparable harm to the Krajina state before the world, which, in view of the position in which we have been placed, would have serious consequences on the domestic scene, would result in a still more tragic situation than the one today, a situation in which life would be unbearable. The present absence of the rule of law would be turned into still more brutal violence.

"The holding of an election would contribute toward having the question of the statehood and political status of Krajina and also the question of the sovereignty of the Serbian people living in it resolved by political means, by those methods, that is, which I consider the only ones that are proper and democratic. The absence of an election in Krajina would be an excuse for the world to continue isolation of the Serbian people in Krajina, but also the Serbian people as a whole.

"Please, esteemed sir, use your personal authority and political influence and demand publicly that an election be called in the Serbian Republic Krajina so that they would be held by the end of this year, that is, at the same time as the elections being held in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro."

Number of Seats Won at Elections Reported

AU0912190992 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Let us now go to the premises of the Republican Electoral Commission. Suzana Kos reports from there:

[Begin recording] The names of 22 councillors we directly voted for on Sunday [6 December] are now known. The names of deputies that had been directly elected to the parliament are also known. The Liberal-Democratic Party has won the most seats in this way, that is, 17. It is followed by the Slovene Christian Democrats and the United List with eight seats each, the Slovene National Party with three won seats, and the Slovene Peoples' Party with two seats. The remaining 50 seats were distributed by the commission according to the so-called d'Hondt system among those eight parties that reached the threshold for the parliament. According to that system, the majority of seats, that is, nine, were won by Jelincic's National Party and the Social-Democrats won only four seats.

Two seats were reserved for representatives of nationalities and will be taken by Marija Pozonec, representative of the Hungarian nationality, and Roberto Batelli, representative of the Italian nationality. The remaining 88 seats are distributed as follows:

The Liberal Democratic party has won 22 seats; the Christian Democrats won 15 seats; the United List won 14; the National Party won 12; the People's Party won 10; the Democrats won six; the Green won five; and Social-Democrats won four.

Therefore, the composition of the Parliament is known. The State Council will achieve its final image after tomorrow's elections of 18 councillors; representatives of employees, employers, peasants, and noneconomic activities.

The turnout at Sunday's elections was more than 85 percent. Therefore, about 1,281,000 citizens exercised their right to vote. About 20 invalid ballots were cast at every polling station.

Here is when the new parliament will hold its first session: According to the law, the Slovene Presidency must convene the parliamentary session within 20 days after the elections. As 26 December is a Saturday and 25 December a holiday, the new deputies will probably occupy their seats as early as on Wednesday or Thursday, that is, 23 or 24 December respectively. [end recording]

Federal

Cosic Sends Letter to John Major

LD0912222092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1837 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—With the collapse of communist regimes, the traditional history of the eastern question has been revived in the Balkans. The state and political realignment of the scattered Balkan peoples has begun, as has the revival of the traditional antagonism between the Christian and the Islamic, and the European and the Asiatic civilizations, which poses great temptations for Europe.

Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, made these comments in a letter to British Prime Minister John Major, who is president of the European Community. In the letter, which was sent today on the eve of the EC summit in Edinburgh, Cosic, according to political circles in Belgrade, presents the most concise analysis of events on the soil of former Yugoslavia and at the same time offers solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, which the EC, unfortunately, has so far ignored.

The Yugoslav crisis has reached its high-intensity phase in terms of combat and national, political, and international intensity. In order to put an end to the civil war and to the terrible suffering of Bosnia-Hercegovina's three peoples—Muslims, Croats, and Serbs—and in order to prevent the Islamic-jihad internationalization of the Bosnia-Hercegovina theater of war, which would inevitably and gradually spread across the entire Balkans and perhaps even farther afield, the international community should radically change its approach and policies toward the Bosnian tragedy by activating the peace energies and democracy of the peoples and states of the former Yugoslavia. I believe that this change can primarily be articulated by taking account of reality. The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is an ethnic, religious, and civil war rather than Serbian aggression—that is, aggression by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—which has been punished for this "aggression" by sanctions and expelled from the world community. If we discuss aggression in Bosnia- Hercegovina then this is a matter of Croatian aggression, a truth which can no longer be denied.

I believe that you agree with me, Mr. Prime Minister, that only by perceiving the true nature of Bosnia-Hercegovina's reality can one find adequate ways of taking action toward peace and a political consolidation of this land in the Balkans.

Proceeding from this, I must note with regret that the EC made serious mistakes in its policy toward Bosnia-Hercegovina at the outset, and regardless of proclaimed goals and aspirations, these mistakes brought about the escalation of interethnic, interconfessional, and civil war. By initiating the recent Security Council Resolution 787 on tightening sanctions and by failing to undertake energetic measures against the openly combative conduct of the Republic of Croatia and the fanatical, discriminatory Muslim authorities of Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president], the European Community is continuing to be responsible today too. I assure you, Mr. prime minister, that on its part the FRY is doing everything to positively influence Serbian elements in Bosnia-Hercegovina, namely, that they should defend their rights by peaceful and democratic means. However, the following fact cannot be ignored: when motives are taken into account, Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina turned their defensive war and right to self-determination into an offensive war in the course of which they expanded territories which, when the final peace is made, can and must be corrected to the benefit of Muslims. The [Bosnian] Serb representatives have stressed themselves in Geneva. It is necessary, however, to exert clear and direct influence on the other two warring sides—the Muslims and the Croats, and this influence undoubtedly can be exerted only by international factors, above all, by the United Nations and the European Community. I take the liberty to voice my conviction here: Opportunities to influence the Muslim and Croat side have not yet been fully used.

According to the FRY president, the essential requirements for ending civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina are the following: a firm order to all warring sides to end all war operations immediately and their separation by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]; the ensuring of road safety for humanitarian aid by engaging the forces and equipment of the FRY, of the Republic of Croatia, and of UNPROFOR; the withdrawal of forces of the Republic of Croatia from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina (more than 60,000 Croatian soldiers are now in Bosnia-Hercegovina); the demilitarization and unblocking of Sarajevo and all other besieged towns so that free passage can ease the suffering of threatened people during the winter; the disbanding of all camps and prisons—Serb, Croat and Muslims; the energetic prevention and appropriate international control of all forms of ethnic discrimination and "ethnic cleansing" on territories dominated by one nationality; a tightening of the ban on exports of arms, which are being smuggled via Croatia, to Muslims in Bosnia; control of borders between the FRY and Bosnia-Hercegovina by UNPROFOR with the aim of preventing the transportion of nonhumanitarian materials or people for military purposes in Bosnia-Hercegovina; the already established control of its airports [as received]; continuation of permanent political negotiations between Muslims, Serbs, and Croats about the state and political system in Bosnia-Hercegovina with the effective cooperation of cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen on the basis of respect for the free political will of these nations and respect for their ethnic, religious, and cultural identity.

On the basis of the conclusions passed by the London Conference on Yugoslavia and thanks to the valuable cooperation with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, progress

was made at the Geneva talks on the Yugoslav crisis. The FRY Government and I personally made an effort to direct the talks toward a constructive solution, acceptable to all sides to the conflict.

However, despite taking resolute and positive steps toward a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis on Yugoslav soil, the FRY remains the only side exposed to the inhuman sanctions of the international community, the consequences of which are increasingly affecting the citizens of our country. Almost total isolation—justified by one-sided and, on the whole, unsubstantiated accusations, as well as by now publicly admitted mistakes by the EC as the Yugoslav crisis developed—cannot at this moment have any peacemaking, political, or moral justification. It is unacceptable at the end of the 20th century to halt the development and production of a European country and to sentence the citizens of the FRY—at a time when winter is setting in and conditions are marked by numerous shortages of basic foodstuffs, medicine, and also by free communications with the rest of the world [as received]—to die from cold, hunger, poverty, and privation. Our children attend classes in freezing classrooms. Reserves of heating oil for hospitals and old people's homes are running out, many of the medical instruments cannot be used due to shortages of spare parts or necessary material; our cultural and scientific circles are excluded from modern development trends, our sportsmen are banished from international contests.

Dobrica Cosic further informs John Major about measures taken by the federal government with a view to intensifying democratic processes in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the sphere of domestic policy:

By calling early multiparty elections for 20 December this year at the federal and republican levels, I fulfilled the most important point in the program of democratic transformation of the Yugoslav state and society, which I announced when taking up the post of president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I believe that in their first democratic elections the citizens of Yugoslavia will elect their authentic representatives who, after the new government and all executive bodies of power have been appointed, will represent a definitive end to the remnants of the undemocratic party-state and of the relations which brought our society to a political, economic, and social impasse. I wish to assure you, Mr. Prime Minister that the democratic renewal of Yugoslav society is becoming a reality.

At this moment of Europe's vacillation I expect you to confirm your political wisdom and responsibility for the future of the nations of former Yugoslavia and of the Balkans, to show your noble understanding of human suffering, and the aspirations of nations for freedom and justice, and thus confirm the traditionally friendly relations between your country and Serbia and Montenegro. I am asking you, together with other responsible EC statesmen, to initiate the abolition or at least the easing of these drastic and, in my conviction, counterproductive, unjust sanctions, primarily those that are connected with the humanitarian aspects of the life of our citizens. Thus Yugoslavia will again be able to occupy an equal place in positive and democratic international cooperation with other states and nations in the world, which, I am convinced, will improve the chances for the reestablishment of a permanent peace and a final victory for democratic civilization in the Balkans.

I would appreciate it, Mr. Prime Minister, if you would acquaint all EC heads of state with the content of this letter, the letter from Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to British Prime Minister John Major says in conclusion.

Panic Calls For Peace at First Campaign Rally

AU0912164892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Just a few moments ago we received a report on the visit by Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic to Sevojno and Uzice. Zoran Zeravcic reports:

[Zeravcic] At the start of the talks in Sevojno, Dragoljub Tomic, one of the directors, informed Milan Panic about the state of the copper mill system two years ago, which has in the meantime been transformed into eight state companies with about 7,000 employees. The processing capacities of 100,000 tonnes are almost totally unused as the market has been reduced during the last few years, and the blockade has brought this highly dependent import-export company to its knees.

The Sevojno companies have been deprived of $5.5 million abroad, without which there can be no further consolidation. Asked whether there is a way this money could soon arrive in Sevojno, Milan Panic said yes and added that the processing plants in Sevojno had to compete with the world with the available capacities and technology.

The more interesting talks were held after a tour of the copper mill with the leadership of the trade union and Sevojno employees. At the start of these talks, Minister Mihajlo Saranovic announced that the Supreme Court of Serbia decided to accept Panic's candidacy for president of Serbia, news that was welcomed with applause. Panic then said that he had up until then been taken only to successful businesses and that some people had not even wanted him to visit Sevojno, probably because it was a company that worked with only 10 percent of its capacities. In open talks with the workers, he was asked what was to follow and where the solution lay to the crisis. Panic said:

[Begin Panic recording] This is one of the very rare industries that should be working in four shifts. On the day that the sanctions are lifted, all your products will be like gold to me [words indistinct] as you know. All that could be managed. All the products that can be exported must be produced. We have to create the conditions for

you to work. Someone has made a wrong decision [word indistinct]. You need experts. In this situation we have to find ways to produce things that can be exported on the very day that the sanctions are lifted, because we need the capital that we have lost. [end recording]

[Zeravcic] After Sevojno, Milan Panic visited Uzice where the plan was for him to address the citizens in the local cinema. Since several thousand citizens gathered in the center of the town, Panic spoke from an improvised rostrum in front of the Hotel Zlatibor. It was, as Minister Saranovic said, Panic's first campaign rally. This is how the federal prime minister began:

[Begin Panic recording] They fought a lot against the system. The most important thing [words indistinct]. Peace, peace, peace, peace, peace, peace, peace, peace. [crowd cheers] Very easy. I want peace in the whole Balkans. I want us to guarantee peace in the Balkans to everyone, and our Serbian national interest, as it is called in all these slogans, is peace. That is the interest. Peace! Not only in Serbia, but in Bosnia, in Krajina, peace wherever Serbs live, be it in America or Australia. Peace is the first thing. [end recording]

[Zeravcic] At the moment, Milan Panic is holding talks with managers of small businesses in Uzice. Let me just add that, although they have been invited, none of the officials from Uzice and the Zlatibor area have taken part in the talks with the federal prime minister. It remains to be seen whether there will be some sort of a meeting with them later today.

Assembly Assesses Danger of Kosovo Instability

LD1012045292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Kosovo and Metohija are the greatest source of instability in our country and a wider potential flashpoint of armed conflict, reads a reply from the Federal Government and its Ministry of Defense to a question from Deputy Zivota Miljkovic on the military assessment of Yugoslavia's security that was sent to the Federal Assembly today.

Deputy Miljkovic asked "What is the military-political assessment of the security of Yugoslavia in view of the development of events in Macedonia and Pristina?" The view of the federal government is that, in an exceptionally complex security situation, there is a danger of the reactivation of crisis spots in Kosovo and Metohija, in Sandzak, and in parts of Macedonia.

The Albanian political leaders in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] are continuing to ignore all measures and actions of the leadership of the Republic of Serbia. Moreover, there is heightened activity by the Army of the Republic of Albania on the border with the FRY. The leaders of this neighboring country are calling for UN forces to be sent to the southern province.

The Albanians in Kosovo are preparing their own armed formations with help from certain foreign countries and, in the meantime, are carrying out various provocations and terrorist acts, such as the attacks on members of the Yugoslav Army and Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs. There is a similar situation with the Albanians in Macedonia.

In the view of the Federal Government, this is all aimed at secession. For the moment, however, the reply to deputy Miljkovic says, the view prevails among the Albanian leaders that it is not yet time for armed uprising. For the time being, they are opting for political pressure, sabotage, and terrorist actions.

The future development of events and of the security situation in Kosmet, the Federal Government believes, depends, above all, on the Albanian political leaders and their foreign allies and patrons. The Yugoslav Army is prepared and equipped to defend the integrity and dignity of our nation and our state, the reply of the Federal Government says in conclusion.

Agriculture Ministry Satisfied With Food Reserves

AU0812155192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Report by Dragana Cosic]

[Text] The production of over 2 and a half million tons of wheat, 4.6 million tons of corn, 170,000 tons of oil, and 370,000 tons of sugar, together with the carry-forward stocks of these products, guarantee enough food for the residents of Yugoslavia until the next harvest and picking. Considering the fact that we are, after all, talking about reduced production, the conditions for the stocks of these products lasting until next year are that they be used rationally and that food not be taken out of Yugoslavia through some secret channels without control. This was stated at a news conference by Milan Prostran, undersecretary in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture.

Regarding spring sowing, wheat was planted on 800,000 hectares. This is 125,000 hectares more than in the fall of 1991. It is also worth mentioning that despite all the problems that farmers experienced—this primarily refers to the lack of diesel—about 70 percent of the land was planted in the optimal time. In this way at least one of the conditions for a bountiful harvest in 1993 has been fulfilled, Milan Prostran said at the news conference.

Collapse of Newly Founded Banks Feared

93BA0289A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Nov 92 p IV

[Article by Tanja Jakobi and Misa Brkic: "Who Slandered Bogi"]

[Text] "Dafina is running away tonight." In a rather loud whisper, one policeman communicated this "confidential" news to a fellow policeman while they waited in line in the post office a few days ago just before the Security

Council resolution was passed. The Yugoslav borders were supposed to be closed that day, the story went, and without its owner Dafiment Bank would be "a thing of the past." The confident conversation between the two seemingly well-informed people suddenly made others waiting in line break into a sweat and inevitably divided them into defenders and critics—virtually all of them with savings deposits in that bank. "She is not going to leave us hanging," was one type of comment, while others observed: "When the government banks tricked us, so can the private banks."

The rumors were obviously masterfully planted at several points in order to cause a panic, so that Mrs. Milanovic was forced to make an announcement "in words and pictures" and deny them. This time, however, she did not use the opening of the safe, which is quite attractive to the media. The answer was given in her place by Bogoljub Karic, "also accused." "It seems people think that capital can be carried out of the country in a plastic bag or sack." The Karices are the most recent other victim of "first-hand information" about the alleged application for Canadian citizenship and the movement of capital to a safer place.

Who today would be disturbed even if the word in the street was that Bora Jovic, say, had fled over the border, as not so long ago we were excited by the spicy story that Josip Vrbovec (who is he anyway) was apprehended just before his plane took off for a foreign country? The politicians today, whatever pains they might take to convince us of the opposite, are marginal figures—when Mrs. Dafina Milanovic sneezes, all of Serbia runs a fever. If all the Serbs cannot be in one party any longer, they soon might be savings depositors in one bank.

When a people believes with its ears and thinks with its stomach, the spreading of rumors becomes the most influential source of information. The survey of the Kredibel Bank shows why in our most recent rumors in the market it is most frequently only the owners of private banks who are fleeing. All of 40 percent of the savings depositors admit that they put their savings in the banks in order to obtain for themselves additional household income. Nowhere in the world is that possible, nor do people there believe in survival on the basis of interest, say the researchers of that bank. In view of the fact that the existence of the ordinary citizen has been moved from his workplace to the bank window, the public listened with much more indifference to the statement of the general director of Zastava, which was quoted word for word, to the effect that the largest factory is going into bankruptcy, than the rumor about the flight of private bankers, which had not basis whatsoever. Instead of being rational, people seem to have a subconscious gut feeling "that the ruling structure might siphon the foreign exchange of savings deposits through the private banks into their own pockets and then flee abroad, shouting 'Treason, treason,' as a mere formality."

The subconscious is also a sector and rumors nurtured by the increasingly frequent warnings of serious banking experts that the immensely high interest of the private banks is an unnatural phenomenon in economics. Why is it that no one in the world has so far been struck with greed and brought his capital to Belgrade to grow, if all of this is so clean? runs the argument of these specialists.

In the general flood of rumors, there are also those who fish in muddy water—quite often competitive banks are authorized to leak spicy details from the business operation of others. Thus, three months ago a report came from "informed" banking circles that Jugoskandik would not be able to pay out foreign exchange savings, because the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] had refused to register it. The story went around for three days before the NBJ issued its press release on that topic.

The most recent tightening of the sanctions and the virtual sealing of Yugoslav borders did the most to shake up savings depositors. Up to now, they have all known and tacitly consented to having their deposits of foreign exchange used to finance highly profitable transactions on the edge of the law or over it. That same context includes the unverified story about an unpleasant visit by the owner of Jugoskandik to the federal office building where he was given a warm recommendation to stay away from shady import transactions. If in future even a bird will not be able to fly into Yugoslavia over the border, it has to be believed that there will be no financing of the risky, but lucrative transactions. The private banks will not have an opportunity to use the foreign exchange taken from individuals and augmented in this way and pay the high rates of interest. "If not before the end of this year, then no later than January certain private banks are threatened with collapse," is the presentiment of Momir Pavlicevic of the Economic Chamber of Serbia.

The new figures of great importance in banking seem themselves to have sensed the mass psychology, and they are trying with patriotic (and economic) moves to allay their own conscience and that of the people.

"The time has now come for us to pay back the people and Serbia," seems to be the message coming from the decision of Dafina Milanovic to turn herself into a lifetime donator to the Serbian pension fund or the intention of the Karic brothers to invest 200 million German marks [DM] in the construction of Belgrade. All of that is supposed to offer savings depositors a certain measure of security concerning their deposits.

The survey of the Kredibel Bank already mentioned clearly indicates that domestic savers know nothing about banking. That is, only laymen who are complete fans of Humphrey Bogart and the cult film "Casablanca" could imagine this kind of scenario: Belgrade's Surcin Airport in the fog.... the airplane engines are already being gunned, Bogoljub Karic is running toward the airplane with a sack of money on his shoulder.... and the savings depositors are right behind him.... Bogi straightens up to get aboard, and all the others hang on the wings.

That happens only in the films, while in reality—the money has already flown away long ago. Which has been confirmed by the president of the Karic Brothers Company himself: The foreign exchange savings of our public are in accounts in foreign banks; that is the money with which we are doing business with the world.

The private bankers are doing everything to calm down the excited savings depositors. In answer to the question of a journalist "When are you running away?" the owner of Jugoskandik replied half in jest: "It is not time yet, I will tell you when."

Foreign Currency Exchange Rates Growing

93BA0292B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by Goran Volf: "Situation on Foreign-Exchange Market: Exchange Rates Rise Over Weekend"]

[Text] *If the German mark reaches a value of 1,500 dinars by the New Year, it will have the same value as on 1 July, when one zero was removed from the dinar.*

In recent days, the German mark has once again been experiencing major jumps on the black market for foreign exchange. Over the past 22 days of this month alone, its value has risen by as much as 510 dinars. The greatest jumps took place over the past three weekends, while on weekdays the black-market rates have, with few exceptions, remained almost unchanged. Thus, yesterday's rate for the German mark on the streets of Belgrade remained the same as on Sunday. Black marketeers were buying for 900 dinars and selling for 1,000.

In this way, the value of the sovereign ruler of the black market is approaching 1,500 dinars, which was the value of the mark prior to the devaluation of the dinar and the removal of one zero from our currency.

Tenfold Increase in Value Over Half a Year

If things continue in this way, it is possible that the German currency will achieve the fantastic value of 1,500 dinars even before the New Year. This would mean that the value of the dinar on the black market would have fallen by as much as 10 times over in only half a year. It is obvious what this means for inflation, prices, and everything that life means.

Even if these dark forebodings do not become a reality, which everyone hopes, there is still no consolation whatsoever in the fact that between 1 June and yesterday the value of the bank note with the two-headed eagle has risen more than 6.6 times over in relation to the dinar. Thus, the entire operation of removing one zero from the dinar and replacing bank notes becomes meaningless. And everyone still remembers the chaos and uproar that took place while the old dinars were being exchanged for the new ones. Many people still have piles of those old dinars in their drawers, money that they were unable to exchange.

Over each of the last three weekends, the mark has risen by 100 or more dinars. And watching the rise in all prices, it would come as no surprise to many people to learn that the exchange rate of the mark has for some time now been dictated by the quantity of dinars turning up on the street. If there were enough dinars in circulation, then the mark would slowly rise from day to day, like last spring. But because of the shortage of domestic money, the changes are sudden. What is actually perplexing is the fact that dinars are flowing into the hands of black-marketeers on nonworking days, when all the banks are closed.

What Remains for Savings Depositors

For months now, there has been a genuine public search to determine the sources from which dinars are being directed into the black market instead of into regular circles. At the same time, citizens are already drawing their pistols in order to wheedle dinars out of their accounts, because in the best case they can withdraw 10,000 dinars from the bank, which is not enough even for two days of necessities. However, the authorities seem not to care, and an answer to the question of who is to blame for all this is not forthcoming from any quarter. As if it suits someone that foreign exchange and the dinar are "valuated" on the street and in hidden nooks and crannies.

It appears that someone who buys up dinars all week is then transferring all of them to the black market on Saturday morning by buying up foreign exchange. Because if the money were leaking from legal sources, then this would happen on working days too.

Numerous private banks, and state-owned ones as well, attracted a large number of dinar depositors at the end of summer by offering extremely high interest rates. And like a miracle, the mark remained stable or rose insignificantly for a long time. But once enough dinars had been amassed, the foreign-exchange rate also began to run wild. Dinars invested in state banks, as well as old foreign-exchange savings, are practically frozen. Both the interest and the principal for the money of these people are losing value at a dizzying pace, while the majority of them must still wait for the term of the time deposit to expire. They themselves will see what is left over for them in the end.

Through this move, both private and state banks have acquired a large amount of working capital. They have been able to invest this in jobs or, for the same money, to buy increasingly valuable hard currency. Ultimately, one must also wonder who has supplied credit to whom.

Paper Shortage 'Threatens' Printing of Dinars

93BA0307B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 12

[Article by S. Vujosevic: "Additional Problem With Money: Paper Shortage Threatens Printing of Dinars"]

[Text] *If the printing of money continues at this pace, we will very quickly run out of raw materials, and thus dinars, checks, cards, and notes as well, says Vojislav Tomic, the director of the vault at the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ]; will Topcider create coupons?*

If the printing of money, and thus the consumption of reserves of the special paper and ink from which money is produced, continues at the current pace, it is very likely that the printing works at Topcider in Belgrade will very quickly run out of the basic raw materials for its work. This is because the raw materials for printing money are imported, and their import is subject to the strict embargo; thus, no one is willing to supply them, and the existing reserves will not last forever.

"This means that we could run out of money very quickly—and this would have happened already if all demands for fresh money had been satisfied—because we will not have the raw materials necessary to print it. And it is not only money that we will run out of, but also checks, cards, notes, and other securities, so that we will be forced to print coupons, although there is also the question there of what kind of paper we would print them on," says Vojislav Tomic, the general manager of the Department of Vault Affairs at the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

At present, no one will provide us with paper for money, which is of special quality and is produced using special technology. The National Bank of Yugoslavia previously invested capital in the construction of a paper factory in Slovenia, in order to free ourselves from imports, but now even the Slovenes, even though they know this, "are unwilling to violate the embargo" and provide us with paper for printing money.

"This paper would also be paid for with hard currency, but right now we are powerless. That is why I am appealing to citizens to protect their bank notes, and not to crumple, soil, or wear them out, so that the money will last longer. Because it is known that we are obliged to withdraw worn bills from circulation and to destroy them, but that too is very expensive," says Tomic.

Since the denomination and devaluation of the dinar on 1 July, the National Bank of Yugoslavia has been under continuous pressure to increase its issue of cash, and after the latest devaluation of the dinar this pressure will be even greater.

"Cash emerges from regular channels and the market swallows it up like some sort of vacuum cleaner. The money is not returned, its turnover is delayed, and we know that large quantities of cash are circulating among businessmen, who have started doing business on a cash basis instead of through giro accounts. It is necessary to strengthen controls and change regulations, to institute much more rigorous punishment for this type of transaction, because this is pushing all of us toward chaos," says Tomic.

The demand for cash is so great that the National Bank of Yugoslavia could distribute it "hand over fist" every day. Nevertheless, NBJ officials say, money is issued regularly where pensions and wages are concerned, although at least with respect to wages even these customary "calendar gusts of money" are disrupted, so that the need for new quantities of money emerges every day.

"If we continue like this, we will experience daily, high inflation, and that is why the proposal by the Service for Trade Payments of Serbia was accepted, whereby the consumption of cash is rationalized by changing certain regulations. At the same time, because of savings, but also in keeping with the need to meet cash-flow needs, consideration is being given to printing bills in larger denominations, which would mean a significant savings in paper and ink. This will also bring savings in the transport and storage of money. How long the current reserves of paper and ink will last also depends on the denomination structure. All of this should help keep us from being in a situation where we have to print coupons instead of money, even if we have enough paper for them," says Tomic.

[Box, p 12]

Dollar Counterfeiting

Between 1 July, when the newly denominated and devalued domestic currency appeared, and today, not a single counterfeit bill has turned up on the market, which is itself a curiosity.

This is interpreted as being due to the fact that a dangerous group of counterfeiters was broken up much earlier. But now counterfeit dollars are "circulating," and lately German marks as well.

Issue of Gasoline Prices Discussed

93BA0283F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by M. Cebalovic: "A Thousand for a Liter Is Increasingly Closer"]

[Text] *Private entrepreneurs emphasize that with the mark's exchange rate at 700 dinars, the maximum new price designated by the Serbian Government, 1,000 dinars, is in jeopardy.*

For the time being there have been no major upheavals in the market for petroleum derivatives, in spite of the devaluation of the dinar. The reason for this is the relative calm in the black market for foreign exchange.

"The present official exchange rate, and not just that one but also the one about it that leads to the price on the black market, have already been figured into the prices that we have at the pumps, and so there is no reason for us to raise them immediately," we were told by Zvonko Volaric of Jugoskandik. Consequently, the premium grade costs 900 dinars here, and diesel costs 700 dinars.

Dafina Trejd—Enough Fuel

Dafina Trejd will still be selling fuel at 950 dinars for premium and 740 dinars for diesel, and that will be the case

as long as there is no major drop in the dinar. "We will not reach the maximum level of 1,000 dinars until the last moment," stated Mile Baric, manager of Dafina Trejd's gas stations, at a press conference held several days ago, and he also confirmed it for us yesterday. It was particularly emphasized that there would be a secure supply during the upcoming period, thanks to the derivatives that are already in the country. "We do not doubt," this firm's representative emphasized, "that we will continue to bring derivatives to the market successfully."

Jugoskandik is also guaranteeing that its pumps—15 of them have been leased—will have enough derivatives.

"I can responsibly state that during the next three months Jugoskandik will be selling derivatives, and not just at its own leased pumps; we are also offering it to suppliers, with the taxes paid, and to all pump leasers or owners whose sources of supply have 'dried up.' This means that whoever has a pump but does not have derivatives can contact us, and we will supply him, and we will share the net profit, after deducting taxes and other duties, in a 70:30 ratio. Naturally, the largest share of the profit goes to us," Volaric explained, announcing that Jugoskandik would also lease more pumps if the circumstance arose.

Diesel Fuel for Heating—600 Dinars Per Liter

"Our stocks are in Yugoslavia, in storage, and so we are guaranteeing good business," he continued, also mentioning wholesale trade. "We are bringing the agreed-upon amounts to the tanks of all firms, and also households that want to heat themselves with diesel instead of heating oil (it is the same derivative, just more expensive). If several households want to buy fuel, thanks to tank trucks with meters, there is a possibility of buying a specific amount and not an entire tank truck, with 1,000-2,000 liters apiece. The price is 600 dinars."

We asked our interlocutors from private firms what would happen if the dinar's decline continued; since they could reach them more easily and did not have to seek approval, could they tell consumers what awaited them?

They agree that the present calculations can stand an exchange rate of up to 700 dinars per mark. Anything over that will jeopardize the maximum set by the Serbian government, that 1,000 dinars. If the administration is slow again and so does not react to a change in the black market exchange rate, the supply can be threatened.

"Then we will offer the administration and the state firm our derivatives so that they can sell them at unrealistic prices," Volaric emphasized.

How do the state firm's prices, which are set by the Serbian Government, fit in here?

With a mark exchange rate of 600 marks and a purchase price or refinery price of 40 pfennigs, along with a slight growth in the trading margin (to 90 dinars) and transportation costs (to 20 dinars), there would be a tax base of 350 dinars. It is now 263 dinars. Then the 166 percent tax would be as much as 581 dinars, and so prices of about 930 dinars for a liter of premium would be found at the pumps. This would be the price with coupons. The question, however, is whether the Serbian Government will then immediately go with that calculation. It is waiting for us, however, since gasoline in Montenegro, with a lower tax, has risen to 800 dinars. How much would "free" gasoline cost?

Certainly considerably more than 1,000 dinars. The managers of private firms that are buying oil say that even the "first hand" has become considerably more expensive (the sellers know that we need gasoline), and so one cannot obtain a liter without 60 pfennigs. With this initial purchase price, the increases in everything in the structure, and the maintenance of too high a tax, even a price of 1,250 dinars is not far off.

Nevertheless, according to the news from the pump, there have not been any major changes there. Little gasoline is being bought with coupons, and more of the free, more expensive gasoline is being bought. This is the cheapest fuel at Jugopetrol's pumps. In Belgrade the price of premium is 850 dinars. It is there, and the lines are not long either.

Yesterday's Fuel Prices

Seller	Premium	Diesel	Regular	Unleaded
Jugopetrol (coupons)	700	519	622	688
Jugopetrol (free sale)	850	-	850	-
Beopetrol (free sale)	1,000	740	900	980
Beopetrol (coupons)	700	519	-	658
Katicevo (private leaser)	1,000	740		
Stevana Lukovica (Rakovica)	990	750		
Garsija Lorke	1,000			
Pop Lukina (Dafina Trejd)	950	740		
Nacional (Dafina Trejd)	950	740		
Tvornicka (Jugoskandik)	900	700		
Visnjiska (Jugoskandik)	900	700		

Sanction Effects on Transportation Cited

93BA0280B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 11

[Unattributed article: "Vehicles in the Parking Lot"]

[Text] The most recent resolution banning transit across Yugoslavia will drastically reduce the business of the forwarding firm Automobilsko Beograd, TANJUG was told by Vladimir Savic, that firm's general director.

The ban on loading goods began to be enforced yesterday, Savic added, but the disastrous consequences of the resolution will begin on Sunday, 22 November, when the decision officially takes effect, Savic judges.

The previous resolution did not completely take vehicles of Automobilsko out of service, Savic recalled.

Even before now the international blockade has drastically reduced the Belgrade carrier's volume of business, because this year's plan has been fulfilled at barely 60 percent.

The transportation firm Jugosped finds itself in almost the same situation. In that firm, whose business is organizing shipping, customs clearance, and other services in all branches of transportation, Mirko Velaga said in a statement to TANJUG yesterday that the total consequences of the new resolution are still not known. However, it is quite certain that traffic will be drastically cut back and carriers whose vehicles will go off to parking lots will be put in the most difficult position they have known since their establishment.

"The new decision from the East River has affected the most vital branches of transportation, since they are the largest carriers and have been involved for years in international commercial flows for goods whose origins and destinations are far apart. Specifically, our country's favorable geographic position and the transportation routes through it ensured the relatively rapid and smooth flow of goods from the extreme west of Europe through our country to Asia Minor and the Middle East or Greece. After the construction of the Podgorica-Shkoder line, new flows of goods from Albania to Central Europe also appeared in transit, especially during the summer season, when there are a lot of agricultural products."

In addition to autor [illegible]nsportation enterprises, the punitive measures [illegible]iously affecting the owners of private trucks and [illegible]naller firms which saved money for years and purchased vehicles in order to become involved in the transportation of goods in foreign trade and transit.

In any case, more than 40 passenger aircraft owned by Serbian enterprises have been grounded, without any hope of flying again soon. Powerful tugboats, tankers, and barges which used to operate on the Danube and its tributaries have also been moored to the banks. Unfortunately, our shippers have not even had a ship of theirs attend, at least symbolically, the opening of the canal that linked the North Sea to the Black Sea and further on to the other seas of the eastern Mediterranean.

Transportation Minister on Sanctions

93BA0283D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by C. Lakic: "Dr. Milan Vujcic: "Thousands of People Will Be Left Without Work"]

[Text] *The latest UN resolution seriously threatens carriers; the minister of transportation in the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] emphasizes that after air and river transportation, whose work was already "frozen" this year, the same fate is now also being suffered by railroad workers and people employed in highway transportation.*

As of yesterday, railroad workers, of whom there are almost 50,000, and also several thousand drivers and other employees of automotive transportation firms, have joined the difficult and almost hopeless situation of our air carriers and shippers. The new punitive measure voted in New York is not only threatening to put all those employed in these branches of transportation into a difficult financial position, but is also threatening dismissals, or at least long forced vacations for workers.

In a statement for POLITIKA Dr. Milan Vujcic, Federal Minister of Transportation, said among other things:

Zivorad Maksimovic, deputy general director of the Belgrade ZTP [Railroad Transport Enterprise] told us that the ban on transit would take away at least 30 percent of the profitable work at this enterprise. This is a business of about 4 million net-ton kilometers per day, which is considered profitable work in any case. The biggest transit business was conducted on the Presevo-Subotica and Subotica-Dimitrovgrad routes, and to a noticeable smaller extent on the Bar route toward Albania as well. In the next few days the Belgrade ZTP will have to adjust transportation and its overall operation to the measures imposed by the ban; this will contribute to parking a large number of locomotives and sending workings on unwanted vacations.

Data on Future Professional Army Composition

93BA0283G Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 92 p 11

[Unattributed article: "Professional Nucleus"]

[Text] *From the Army of Yugoslavia: noncommissioned officers from civilian schools.*

The General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia has decided that during the first round 17,640 soldiers will be accepted under contract, who will constitute the nucleus of the future professional Army structure, the TIKER agency has learned. Analysts at the Federal Ministry of Defense estimated that the optimum professional structure would be from 45,000 to 60,000 soldiers under contract. The Army leadership is committed to having quality receive priority over quantity in the Army of Yugoslavia. It is thus planned that the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will number up to 120,000 soldiers. For the sake of comparison, in July 1991 the Yugoslav People's Army had 165,592 soldiers and 40,000 officers.

All military secondary schools will soon be eliminated, and young men who complete one year of training in the Army of Yugoslavia after secondary school will be able to become noncommissioned officers, the TIKER agency also learned at the General Staff.

The elimination is planned in order to reduce the expenses of military education, because it is felt that military secondary schools are not essential to train high-quality officer personnel.

Data on Romanian Smuggling Link

93BA0280C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by Radovan Lazarevic: "Entrance Fee of 1,000 Marks"]

[Text] For months now, the parking lot on Slavija Circle in Belgrade has been the point of origin of all tourist smuggling trips. At least a dozen buses leave it for Timisoara in the early morning hours, usually on Tuesdays and Fridays. The organizers of the trip are by and large private tourist agencies, usually the smaller ones, and the travelers are almost always the same ones except for a few unexpected strays.

In the early going, a month or two ago, they took the shortest route, via Vrsac. At that time, the Romanian customs officials in vain prohibited the crossing of Yugoslav buses at that checkpoint. Since that time, Yugoslav buses have been able to enter the neighboring country freely only at the crossing near Kladovo. And naturally, our tourist-smuggler buses have changed their itinerary. The distance to Timisoara has increased from 200 to all of 650 km. Instead of three hours, it takes all of 10 to reach the largest city in the Romanian section of Banat.

Entry Only at Kladovo

The tripled distance is the least of the troubles on this route. As a traveler on one of these buses, we saw for ourselves that the burden of the sanctions when the border is crossed is even greater than within the country. Officials in the neighboring country have taken and are taking advantage of every occasion to remind us that we come from a country which is subject to a blockade and that it would be a good idea if we show proper appreciation for their favors.

This is how it looks in practice: At the border crossing, there is a conference between the tour guide and the owner of the agency, the Romanian customs official has to be paid 100 German marks [DM] to let us pass. We learned that that is the current toll per bus.

As soon as we traveled another kilometer or two, the bus was stopped by a policeman of the neighboring country. In order to remind us that we are coming from a country which is subject to a blockade and that that is a very unpleasant thing. As soon as he had a bank note of DM100 in his pocket, the thing was no longer so unpleasant.

No one stopped the bus during the next 300 km to Timisoara. And while the sleepy travelers besieged Timisoara shops, buying all kinds of things, but most of all laundry soap, stockings, underwear, walnuts, cigarettes..., the owner of the agency and the driver went looking for fuel. That day, they were not lucky. At the station, they got fuel that had more water in it than petroleum. The motor simply grumbled and would not move. Unfortunately, the police became interested in the entire case. The drivers had to go to the police station. They had to provide explanations, to extricate themselves any way they could. After all, we are a country subject to a blockade, which presumably is also supposed to signify that we are the duty perpetrators guilty for absolutely everything, including the water in the engine.

And so the drivers, experienced world travelers, did somehow extricate themselves. The trip back starts in the afternoon. But now via the border crossing near Vrsac. Romania cannot be entered by bus there, but it can be exited.

But as soon as we left Timisoara, the bus was stopped by a police patrol. We need not even say why. We got going again only when there were DM200 in the pockets of the police.

The Cost of the Goodwill of the Customs Officials

The real nightmare, especially for agency owners, however, begins only at the border crossing. According to regulations, there is no exit from the neighboring country until the customs official permits it. At the beginning, we learned, DM300 was enough for understanding to be shown to travelers in the Yugoslav bus. However, as time has passed, their appetites have grown. In recent weeks, they have been unwilling to even talk without DM700-800. To be sure, they do not compel anyone, but if you do not want to pay, you cannot cross the border at this point. And from what we were told by agency owners, the tolls are no more modest at the other border crossings either.

Left no choice, the agency owners pay. One after the other. And there are days when as many as 50 Yugoslav buses cross from Romania into Yugoslavia at this crossing. We are convinced that the customs officials of the neighboring country are its richest citizens. After all, none of that money ends up in the government treasury, but in their pockets. The government does not collect its money in a one-on-one encounter.

When you figure it up, the tour guide and the agency owner had to pay bribes to the customs officials or police of the neighboring country amounting to DM1,100. Of course, all of that is divided up proportionally among the passengers in the bus. If we add to this that each of the some 40 travelers spent at least DM100, it turns out that that day the 40 or so Yugoslav citizens left behind about DM5,000 in the neighboring country and in return they brought into Yugoslavia a pile of men's and women's stockings, undershorts, undershirts, soap powder, and walnuts and cigarettes.... All of this will be sold in the country, the money obtained will again be used to buy foreign currencies, and they will go back to Timisoara. And that is how it is week after week. Valuable foreign exchange is being carried out of the country, and in exchange people are dressing up in Romanian rags, and the middlemen both on the Yugoslav and Romanian sides, some more, some less, are filling their own pockets.

An oddity in conclusion: Most Yugoslav citizens in Timisoara change their marks for lei with a Yugoslav known to everyone by his nickname Pazarac. We learned that he is the principal Timisoara dealer, that he is actually from Novi Pazar, and that he is a permanent resident of Timisoara. The agency owners say that he has connections in the customs and police of the neighboring country and that it is not healthy to cross him.

Details of Election Process Described

93BA0294A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 92 p 5

[Article by N. Trklja: "Going to the Polls on 20 December: How the Voting Will Look"]

[Text] *Voters will see four ballots: for the Federal Assembly, for the Republic Assembly, for the president of Serbia, and for the president of the opstina; the voter will vote in the place where he is registered; polls open until 2000; voting by circling the number before the name on the list; first and last name of all candidates on the collective lists.*

The election campaign is in full swing. The political parties are stepping up preparations for their appearances, and the election commissions in the 10 election precincts for the federal elections are preparing the final data on the submitters of lists and their candidates. In other words, everyone concerned with the elections is trying to get ready for 20 December, the day on which they must go before the voters. What kind of job awaits all the citizens of Yugoslavia, who on that day will go to the polls and vote for the best candidates?

The main characteristic of the upcoming elections is the proportional way of choosing parliamentary deputies. This time, citizens will not directly choose a specific person, but will instead vote for political parties and their programs.

No Party Designations

Under the law on conduct of the elections, polling places at which voting will take place cannot have more than 2,500 registered voters. A citizen votes in the place where he is registered. There will be no voting by showing an identity card without being registered. No later than five days before the elections are held, each voter shall be informed of the date and time of the elections, with the full address of the polling place where he is registered.

The polls will be open at 0700 and the voting will conclude at 2000. Voters who are present at the polls at the moment when they close will be allowed to perform their civic duty. The voting is secret and personal, each voter may vote only once, and there can be no party signs at the polling places.

On 20 December, the citizens will be presented with four ballots at the polls: for federal, republic, presidential (in the republic), and local elections. On the federal and republic level, the voting will be for parties, i.e., according to the proportional system, while local elections are conducted according to the majority election system.

The ballot for the federal elections contains an indication of the election precinct, an ordinal number, the name of the electoral list (including the name of the standard-bearer of the list), and the first and last name of the first candidate. However, some work remains to be done before the ballot can be drawn up.

After all the electoral lists in one election precinct are declared, the election commission will draw up a collective list. This document, which must be posted at a visible location in each polling place, will contain the first and last names of candidates from the electoral lists registered in that election precinct. The deadline for drawing up this collective list is 5 December, or 15 days before the elections themselves.

Thus, the ballot for the federal elections will contain the name of the election precinct, the names of the submitters of the lists (party, coalition, or citizens group), and the standard-bearer of the list and the first and last name of the first candidate to be elected. The other names of candidates will be posted on the collective lists.

What Constitutes a Valid Ballot

The most important rule is to vote for only one party, or rather one submitter of a list. Voting is done by circling the number before the name of the party list for which

one wishes to vote. The ballot is invalid if it is completed in such a way that it is impossible to determine which electoral list has been chosen or if more than one electoral list has been circled.

In addition to the circled number before the name of the list, those ballots on which the first and last name of the first candidate on the electoral list has been circled, where the name of the electoral list has been circled, or where the number, name, and first and last name of the first candidate have all been circled will also be recognized. This means that a ballot is valid if the number, name or candidate is marked, but only for one list.

The order of the electoral lists on the ballot will be determined by the election commissions in the election precincts, by drawing lots.

After the completion of voting, when opening up the ballot boxes, it will first be confirmed whether there is a control sheet in it. This sheet, which is signed by the members of the voters committee, is inserted into the ballot box before the election. If no control sheet is found after the voting, then the voters committee is disbanded, a new one is named, and the voting is repeated at that location.

The procedure for republic elections is similar.

[Box, p 5]

What Is on the Ballot

We will attempt to explain what the ballot for the federal elections will look like based on an example, the Belgrade election precinct.

The ballot will contain the number of the election precinct, one, and the name "Belgrade." The order of the party lists will be determined by drawing lots. Before the first list there will be a number, and then the name of the submitter, for example Serbian National Renewal, and then the name of the standard-bearer of the list, Mirko Jovic, and below that the name of the first candidate, Srbislav Knezevic. The other party lists appear after the first one. For example, DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]—Vuk Draskovic, and below that Slobodan Rakitic, then Socialist Party of Serbia—Slobodan Milosevic, and below that Vladislav Jovanovic. Thus, the ballot will contain all party lists that have been declared in that election precinct.

Serbia

Opposition Assails Socialists' Election Tactics

LD0812204792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 December (TANJUG)—In talks today with Prime Minister Milan Panic, leaders of main opposition parties estimated that, as the prime minister's office announced, the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia still imposes unequal conditions for conducting an election campaign. They said that this refers primarily to state television, assessing that the television has completely sided with the Socialists, even more so than at the elections two years ago.

At their own request, the opposition leaders visited Prime Minister Panic and requested that everything be done to improve the situation immediately. They said that the unequal conditions for the campaign are another indication of how the regime is trying to manipulate people and that it is still playing games with their future.

Representatives of the Democratic Movement of Serbia, the Democratic Party, the Civic Alliance, and the Social-Democratic Party stressed that the regime continues to bribe people by printing money to pay for votes. It is for that purpose, according to them, that money earmarked for farmers' agricultural produce which they had delivered was not paid.

The opposition representatives believe that by showing various ceremonies on the television and other media, the regime is trying to create the impression that the economy is reviving, although the actual situation shows that production is in constant decline, while the number of unemployed and workers on compulsory leave is on the increase.

Criticizing the regime's policy, the opposition leaders described as a farce the events connected with the approval of the candidacy of Milan Panic for Serbian president. The opposition estimates that the regime is aware of the fact that Panic will win the election, so it has put politics before law, ignoring the ruling of the Serbian Supreme Court.

It was stressed at the meeting that the opposition will more resolutely fight and resist such a policy of the ruling party.

The opposition leaders stressed, as it was announced, that they will organize a mass pre-election meeting of people and youth in Belgrade, at which the truth will be announced, when it is not possible to do that on state media.

By its activities to date in connection with hampering the equality of the election campaign, the regime is seriously bringing into question the holding of elections on 20 December, the opposition leaders stressed.

Seselj Says Radicals Support Milosevic

AU0912210392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Statement by Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, on the party's promotion video; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party did not propose its own candidate in the elections for the president of the Republic of Serbia for reasons it has already presented to

the Serbian public. Today we examined the final list of candidates of various political parties and groups of citizens and decided to support the candidacy of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic for president of the Republic of Serbia.

Mr. Milosevic has been holding this post to date, and his term of office has still not ended according to the plan envisaged by the Constitution. While holding this post he refrained from acting in a partisan manner and did not carry out a partisan policy, but acted as president of all citizens of Serbia and protected the interests of his people and the republic in general. Mr. Slobodan Milosevic is the most meritorious individual in crushing the Albanian separatist authorities in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and the autonomist authorities in Vojvodina, and in bringing back Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija to the Republic of Serbia as its integral parts.

Mr. Slobodan Milosevic is also deserving of praise for his work in the accelerated reconstruction of the Republic of Serbia from a communist dictatorship into a modern parliamentary democratic state. The citizens of the Serbian Krajina, the Serbian Republic, and other Serbs who are not living on the territory of the Republic of Serbia know Mr. Milosevic as a fighter for and advocate of their interests, know him as a leader who will firmly champion the interests of Serbs in general and cannot be moved and diverted from that road and who cannot be bought or scared away. It is our conviction that all Serbian patriots will support Slobodan Milosevic. The Serbian people and all citizens of Serbia will once again grant their confidence to him, because his remaining in the post of the president of the Republic of Serbia is a guarantee that Serbia will be a harbinger of democracy in the Balkans and that the Serbian people will live in harmony without surrendering to any foreign power and without allowing anybody break up its territories.

Milosevic Addresses Campaign Rally in Srem

AU0812204892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Report by Dusan Djordjevic, Slavko Pusic on the visit Slobodan Milosevic to Sid, Sremska Mitrovica, and Ruma on 8 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pusic] At the beginning of his visit to Sremska Mitrovica, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was welcomed and loudly greeted by several thousand citizens in front of the Communal Assembly building. In one of the Assembly halls, Slobodan Prodanovic, chairman of the Communal Assembly, welcomed the Serbian president on behalf of the town and informed him about current political and economic events in this part of Srem. The president of Serbia first gave thanks for the welcome and then said, among other things, the following:

[Milosevic] You spoke about economic successes and difficulties, about investment ventures you have carried out in order to make life in this town more pleasant. Simply, it seems to me that what can be seen in this brief information presented to us here is that there are many elements that are completely identical to our view of the approach to solving the economic and social difficulties that we are experiencing at the moment. Namely, let me say just briefly that our formula of behavior cannot be to wait for the sanctions to be lifted and to worry how to survive until they are. Our formula cannot be to survive, our formula must be based on serious and material facts founded on our aspirations toward an accelerated development. Therefore, in the existing conditions, instead of bare survival, we must turn to accelerated development and adjust the elements of that development to the possibilities and therefore the conditions and circumstances of pressure and sanctions that are making it impossible for us to develop in certain sectors and activities, but are causing us to take up things that we have to do anyway, and that we must realize with much more reliance on our own forces.

[Pusic] Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, then addressed the citizens of Sremska Mitrovica in front of the Pinki Sports Hall:

[Milosevic] Let me greet you all cordially. I am very glad to be here today, in the heart of Srem, which made a huge contribution to the unification of Serbia and was the first place to break away from autonomist policy that (?was dividing) Serbia. This united Serbia created in this way has become a support for our entire economic and social development and a great support to the entire Serbian people outside Serbia.

We know very well what times we are living in today and how great the pressures are that we are exposed to. However, we also know very well that all these pressures and the machinery which is trying to scare us, which is producing fear, and which is trying to make the people and citizens of Serbia themselves make moves according to the wishes of those people who are exerting pressure against us that we shall not be afraid [sentence as heard]. We know very well that Serbia is not going to suffer hunger or cold, but it is also not going to die of fear and this should be known by everybody who is threatening us today. We have no other policy but to protect our country and our people. That right belongs to everybody, so it must also belong to this country and this people, particularly when the aims of that policy are honorable and when they do not plan any damage to anybody else and when they plan peace, welfare, and successful development.

[Word indistinct] example of this commune of Mitrovica, in which more than 11,000 refugees have found shelter, shows to what extent the heart of Srem is open to everybody whose intentions are good and to what extent it is ready to help everybody. All those people who are unjustly accusing us and who are imposing unjust sanctions upon us should come here and see for themselves that Mitrovica has extended hospitality to Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and all other citizens who needed it. It did not

put them into any concentration camps of the kind that are mentioned as part of some formulas, but has received them wholeheartedly into its families, into its homes in the same way one receives dear guests. It is above all important for us that peace should be preserved in Serbia and that peace should reign in all parts of Yugoslavia, that all refugees can freely go back to their homes, that we can resume broken links, and that we can again live in a free and successful way. However, we can live in a free and successful way only if we live on an equal footing with our neighbors, therefore not if we live under pressure. We are fighting for the equality and independence of our state and our people and for a successful development, and all together we shall win them. I greet you in that name. Cheers!

[Pusic] In the continuation of his visit to Sremska Mitrovica, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic visited the building site of a pedestrian bridge on the Sava which will soon link this town with Macvanska Mitrovica. [passage omitted]

Strong Explosion Reported at Belgrade Mosque

LD0812212492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—A strong explosion occurred in the courtyard of the Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade at around 1825. Windows in buildings that are part of the Islamic temple were shattered. No one was killed or injured in the explosion. The Bajrakli mosque, which dates from the 16th century, was not damaged.

The police arrived on the spot exceptionally fast, residents of nearby buildings said. Dobrivoje Gerasimovic, an investigative judge from a district court, and Deputy District Prosecutor Mirjana Djurasevic arrived soon afterward.

The explosion occurred after the evening prayers and, fortunately, the mosque was empty, Belgrade mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic told TANJUG. According to unofficial reports, the explosion was caused by a home-made explosive device, which made a crater in the mosque courtyard. [passage omitted]

An investigation is under way.

Milosevic's Relations With Press Discussed

93BA0251A Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Nov 92 p 8

[Article by Florence Hartmann: "Serbian Press Under Close Surveillance"]

[Text] *Mr. Milosevic controls the official media and puts pressure on independents to promote his war aims...*

Belgrade—When it comes to history, Serbians are inexhaustible: They can talk for hours about the Battle of Blackbird Field, the Salonika front, the statements of Churchill or de Gaulle. About recent events, they have less to say. They know very little about what is happening in their country—more precisely, in former Yugoslavia.

The young team from the Belgrade Institute of Political Studies has just provided convincing proof. In a survey taken last July, only 20 percent of those questioned were able to answer correctly the question: "Who shelled Sarajevo in May and June from the heights overlooking the city?"

Propaganda and disinformation have long since supplanted accurate information. The media, and especially official television, have whipped up nationalist feeling and manipulated public opinion to support the war effort. On national security grounds, of course. Since 5 April, Belgrade television has referred day after day to the bombardment of the Bosnian capital, but without ever identifying the perpetrators. It has sung the praises of "Serbian defensive actions" against the attacks mounted by the "Islamo-Catholic coalition"; i.e., by Muslim and Croat forces.

Finally, on the morning of 31 May, television viewers were told for the first time that "because of Serbian shelling of Sarajevo," the United Nations Security Council during the night had decreed an international embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

The media war preceded the armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Attached as they were to the various regimes of each of the Yugoslav republics, press, radio, and television organs had gradually instilled in the public a spirit of intolerance and hatred of other nationalities, creating a climate of insecurity that prompted the massive arms build-up.

When war broke out in Slovenia, Croatia, and then Bosnia, television transmitters were the first targets of the Serbo-Yugoslav air force. In territory claimed by the Serbians, transmitters were captured undamaged by infantry and immediately assimilated into the Belgrade network.

Blind Fanaticism

Since then, cleverly tailored journalistic images of the war have served to awaken, even in the most peace-loving souls, a blind fanaticism that fuels further conflict. The images of mutilated bodies and villages burned "by the enemy" that parade across the TV screens of Serbian viewers each day are calculated to accustom the population to death and to engender hatred.

Media manipulation of the Serbian population has allowed the "warlords" to become invulnerable and Mr. Milosevic to stay in power despite opposition. Thanks to his total control over the media, the Serbian strongman and his Socialist Party (formerly Communist) won the first "free" elections in late 1990. Belgrade media, serving the Serbian regime as a sort of "praetorian guard," have increasingly become the foremost target of opposition discontent.

Simplistic Message

Despite numerous demonstrations to denounce his strangle hold on Belgrade television—against which he did not hesitate to send tanks (March 1991) or deploy special units of the Kosovo and Krajina police (March and July 1992)—the Serbian president has been unyielding. In fact, on 24 October he appointed Mr. Miodrag Vucelic, a member of the ruling Socialist Party's governing board, to manage the television station; Vucelic's resignation was demanded not only by the opposition but also by Yugoslav federal authorities.

Denounced by the international community, which considers him the man most directly responsible for the war in the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Milosevic needs the media more than ever to win the legislative elections and the early presidential elections to be held in Serbia on 20 December. So he scorns the boycott threats raised by the opposition, which day after day denounces the "brainwashing" techniques employed on Serbian public television.

With less than two months to go before the voting, he has stepped up the ideological crusade. The message on television is simple: Serbia, unjustly punished by an international community that is trying to impose "the new order" in the Balkans, has succeeded to date in resisting the foreign "diktat," thanks to the policy of President Milosevic; the embargo should not force the Serbian people to capitulate, but rather encourage them to develop their own resources; the policy of compromise pursued by the Federal Government of Mr. Panic and Yugoslav President Cosic will lead to futile and dangerous concessions that amount to a betrayal of Serbia's national interest.

Such is the monotone of television rhetoric which no one can prevent since access to air time, long denied the opposition, has also been closed to the Yugoslav leaders. Mr. Panic, for example, was denied the right to address the population in October.

Given the cost of newspapers and the vertiginous drop in standard of living, television plays an increasingly important role in forming Serbian public opinion. Its deliberately Manichaean approach has infected society as a whole which now accepts televised propaganda uncritically. The effects are disquieting, according to experts, who speak about televiewers being hypnotized and their incredible credulity.

Some studies claim that 60 percent of the population "blindly believes" the news carried on television. The results are reflected in surveys made by the Belgrade Institute of Political Studies: More than 91 percent of those whose only sources of information are official media are poorly (43.5 percent) or moderately (48.1 percent) informed.

Informed Democrats

By contrast, among those who have the means and take the trouble to get news from the independent media, only 13 percent are poorly informed. The July survey also revealed that most defenders of the policy of Mr. Milosevic and his ultranationalist ally Vojslav Seseij are poorly informed, while supporters of the democratic opposition are relatively well informed.

This is why Mr. Milosevic has done everything possible to limit the margin for maneuver of the independent media organs that began to spring up with the advent of political pluralism in 1990. Despite pressures and numerous staff purges at the big newspapers, the written press has gradually escaped the regime's control. Thus, criticism last spring of Mr. Milosevic's policy by Serbian intellectuals and the Orthodox Church led several "official" newspapers, such as POLITIKA and POLITIKA EXPRESS, to distance themselves from the regime. Nevertheless, these two Belgrade dailies, which face the threat of a proposed nationalization, have very limited autonomy.

Even though Mr. Milosevic no longer has direct control over VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a big-circulation evening tabloid, he does not worry about the "unsubmissiveness" of the written press, which in a single year has lost more than half its readership due to the decline in purchasing power. Television is more than ever the principal source of news, both in the provinces and in Belgrade.

Independent BORBA

BORBA, Belgrade's biggest independent daily, sells some 30,000 copies, 40 percent of them in the capital and environs and 25 percent in Voivodine, a multiethnic province in northern Serbia. The newspaper has not succeeded in increasing its circulation in the Serbian interior, especially in the south, a traditional stronghold of support for Mr. Milosevic.

Because it lacks the financial means and advertising network to do so, explains its editor, Mr. Ivan Mrdjen. BORBA, like the rest of the independent media organs, has no access in Mr. Milosevic's fiefdoms. Moreover, the Serbian president has muzzled regional press and radio stations such as those in Valjevo, Kragujevac, and Kraljevo, smothering all opposition. Just as he had done earlier with the press organs of the minority ethnic groups, notably the Hungarian and Albanian ethnic organs.

He has also interfered with efforts by Belgrade's two independent television stations, "Studio B" and "TV Politika," to broadcast on a Serbia-wide basis. These two stations, like several independent radio stations, including the one run by "B-92" students, can only be picked up in Belgrade.

That station, and the weekly VREME, are the only ones to ignore the canons of Serbian nationalism, systematically putting quotation marks around the names of the self-proclaimed "republics" formed by Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia.

Mr. Milosevic also exercises indirect influence on the independent media, since the latter are required to use press releases from the official agency, Tanjug, in their news reports. By the end of 1991, this formerly reputable news agency had become a Serbian propaganda tool imbued with the spirit of "patriotic journalism," as it is called in Belgrade.

Despite the efforts of the two independent television stations, which on a daily basis rebroadcast a series of foreign reports on Yugoslavia, news reports (with TANJUG's help) are spouting the ultranationalist rhetoric generally associated with wartime conditions.

Serbian Oil Supply To Last Until Spring

93BA0291C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 92 p 3

[Article by Fran Visnar, NOVI VJESNIK staff military columnist: "The Serbs Have Enough Petroleum To Last Until Spring"]

[Text] Zagreb—The United Nations is procedurally slow, but still the key resolutions are forthcoming. The new one about introducing a stricter, complete maritime, river, and air embargo will perhaps have an effect, provided, of course, that force is used in searching vessels, trucks, and aircraft.

But we must recall similar cases—the embargo on all goods for Iraq was drastically violated by its prime neighbor Jordan, which sent to Baghdad in continuous truck convoys not only food and drugs, but also petroleum and spare parts for various weapons. At the same time, South Africa had its best armament and supply of petroleum during the most severe international embargo. Which explains the question of whether the Security Council has not been late once again.

Through private channels over the last three months, the Serbs have been getting deliveries of petroleum, each amounting to 100,000 tons: They have set aside a third for municipal needs, they have refined and placed in safe storage two-thirds so that they would have a strategic reserve for their tanks, armored vehicles, and aircraft. That means that the fact of the war in Bosnia continuing intensively need not worry them until spring.

They are also awaiting quite calmly the possible opening of a second front in Kosovo (the Albanians are under surveillance of 30,000 Serbian soldiers and at least 25,000 heavily armed police, who are not saving fuel at all, judging by the constant activity of their vehicles). Even before, the Serbs set aside a million tons of fuel for possible intervention in Macedonia, filling to the brim underground tanks in the vicinity of the Macedonian border.

Unless international factors cut off the highly adaptable and agile private smuggling channels in Greece, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, and Malta, but also in Russia—the Serbs will continue to behave as they like and will slowly, step by step, cement the borders of so-called great Serbia. Up to now, the sanctions, at least as far as petroleum is concerned, have hurt Serbia like the penalty for parking in a no-parking zone, which every time costs $1.50.

Peasant Party Head on Milosevic, Macedonia

93BA0257A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 12 Nov 92 pp 17-19

[Interview with Dragan Veselinov, leader of the Serbian Peasant Party, by Mirce Tomovski; place and date not given: "The War Goes On!"]

[Excerpts] *Unquestionably, Dragan Veselinov, the leader of the Serbian Peasant Party, is one of the most noted personalities on the Serbian political scene and one of the leaders of the democratic opposition. He is a member of the Serbian Civic Alliance and is active in peace movements and numerous democratic fora. Under the old system he was known as one of the fiercest critics of Bolshevism. He was also labeled an autonomist, which has a specific connotation in his native Vojvodina. This professor in the Political Science Department of Belgrade University did not allow any sort of party involvement to violate his position as an independent and free-thinking intellectual. This is confirmed by many of his public speeches and articles in the media. In a recently held talk with PULS in Ohrid, Veselinov discussed the state of affairs in Vojvodina and the political situation in Serbia, the need for the overthrow of Milosevic, Cosic's political credo, Macedonian-Serbian issues, and so forth.*

[Tomovski] You said that a democratic development cannot be expected, for the issues related to the elections are closely tied to Milosevic's departure. However, the prevalent thought is that Milosevic will not surrender his power without a fight.

[Veselinov] Anything is possible. However, we would like for him to not run for president of the Republic, for he has not achieved results that would give him the right to aspire to such a position. However, he is a person who thinks very differently from the way we do. He believes that he is the "father of the nation," and that he has become a conqueror who is on the verge of the definitive freedom (which means that the conquered territories will be politically accepted and formalized). Familiar as I am with his character, I believe that he would like, once again, to run for president of the Republic in order to attain his devilish project. We know what his objective is. Milosevic's objective is to take over part of Macedonia and ethnically cleanse Kosovo and Vojvodina and then undertake the political cleansing of the entire territory under his rule, which means the elimination of

anyone who thinks differently and is unwilling to become a puppet. That is his plan. It is difficult to say who could stop him. Many analysts claim that the only personality who could defeat him in the elections is Dobrica Cosic. That may not be the best possible solution, but perhaps at this moment is the best available one. I believe that this would be better than for Milosevic to win the elections, for should this happen the war would go on.

[Tomovski] Will that struggle be pursued by democratic political means or should we expect a military conflict or civil war in Serbia as well?

[Veselinov] As far as the opposition is concerned, it wants to use strictly democratic processes. It wants democracy, elections, a professional television system, freedom of the press, loyal state institutions, respect for civil rights and freedoms, and so on. Such is our position, and no single program of the opposition parties calls for the assumption of power through violent means, although the socialists turned against the opposition for the first time in March 1991, at which time they used more tanks than had ever been used on any Yugoslav battlefield. Milosevic proved that he can also resort to the use of weapons against his own people in order to protect his leading position and power. The opposition has no plan of coming to power by force. It is struggling for human civil rights and freedoms and will do so through peaceful means.

[Tomovski] Cosic began by a spiritual boosting of Greater Serbia, which led to the defeat you mentioned and which, it seems, according to all indications, has been accepted by the people. That is perhaps why he supports Milosevic's policies. However, Cosic all of a sudden became a hero by promoting a new policy of opposing Milosevic. How do you interpret such a change in policy?

[Veselinov] I cannot go into the reasons driving Dobrica Cosic. However, his policies are being increasingly supported in Serbia and, gradually, they will be accepted abroad as well. The reasons for which Cosic assumed power could be summed up by citing three facts: first, the effort politically to formalize Serbian military successes, clearly realizing that he can never retain these territories by directly taking them over. Cosic must engage in talks. However, he does not hold a position that would allow him to invalidate Serbia's military successes. He will try, using maximal political concessions, somehow to crown such successes. This is the first of his steps. The second is to try to preserve some kind of version of the existence of a left wing in Serbia. Cosic is not a socialist. He is a communist in his heart and would like to keep the left wing in power. However, this is not the type of left wing that made him withdraw from political life. In Serbia, however, there is no normal left, for a normal left must be preceded by a liberal settlement and economic development that would allow it to take shape. At this point, the left is the defender of the advantageous conditions inherited from the communists. Cosic realized that Milosevic's policies led to the mammoth centralization and renovation of the obsolete socialist order, which had degenerated. Cosic would like to rescue the leftist idea by giving up a permanent settlement. To this effect he would like to have the support of separate political forces. His third objective is to prevent Serbia from becoming a monarchy.

[Tomovski] Several days ago Panic was in Skopje, where he said that he will recognize Macedonia. What is your view on this statement, which triggered a negative reaction both among the ruling forces and most opposition parties?

[Veselinov] I am not aware of any party belonging to the bloc of the democratic opposition in Belgrade and in Novi Sad objecting to the results of Panic's policies and to his statement in connection with Macedonia. I believe that Panic has made a good move. As to how practical it is at this point I cannot say. I do not know, and perhaps I would have known better had I been in his place. However, I support him and I would have done the same thing. I would have recognized Macedonia as an independent state, by whatever name the Macedonians want to call themselves. My view is that the Bulgarians are wrong by recognizing Macedonia as a Macedonian state while not recognizing the Macedonian nation. All I can say about the Greeks is that they are unjustifiably excited about the name of Macedonia, for they have no reason whatsoever to do this. The Macedonians have enough problems and do not wish to quarrel with anyone. I believe that of all countries in the Balkans, Macedonia is the one the most interested in peace, for it is very vulnerable. That is the political line followed by Mr. Gligorov.

[Tomovski] How do you assess Kiro Gligorov's policy in connection with all these issues?

[Veselinov] I can say about Kiro Gligorov that he is a very modest person who is trying to achieve an objective that will satisfy everyone by using the best possible means and reason. I do not know how much he can accomplish, but I believe that Macedonia is not a factor of instability in Serbian-Macedonian relations. I rather believe that it is Belgrade's policy that is a factor in such instability. Macedonia has no reason to fear the victory of democratic forces in Belgrade. We shall recognize Macedonian independence and its permanent borders. We shall respect its domestic and foreign political orientation as defined by Macedonia, and will insist that Serbia and Macedonia resume the type of relations they had before the break. At the same time, we shall try to develop new positions and pursue a policy of reciprocal openness. This means the lifting of borders, concluding commercial agreements, and making an effort to activate all that we will have inherited from our former state in order to become part of Europe.

[Tomovski] Is a fast resumption of spiritual and intellectual ties within the former Yugoslavia possible?

[Veselinov] I do not regret the Yugoslav political system, but rather the disappearance of the state. I do not identify a political system with a state. I am sorry to see the failure of that state and I am disgusted by this fratricidal war. It is natural for the states that emerged from the former Yugoslavia and that are now independent and autonomous subjects, once the situation has calmed down, to start creating conditions for reciprocal trust and economic, technological, and political cooperation on an equal footing. I believe that this is possible, for we share a common history. We occupy the same space we had in the past, and the borders are, actually, administrative. The people do not want them. What they would like to know, however, is who owns what, and that the right to independence, language, religious faith, and culture is respected.

Macedonia

Gligorov Seeks EC Recognition

PM0912114092 Paris LIBERATION in French 5-6 Dec 92 p16

[Interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov by Veronique Soule in Skopje; date not given]

[Text] Skopje—*On the eve of the Edinburgh summit on 10 and 11 December, the Macedonian president, who was in London on Thursday [3 December], is making a final effort to secure recognition of his country by the Twelve. Macedonia is the only republic of former Yugoslavia to have proclaimed its independence which has not received recognition, because of hostility from Greece which is demanding that the republic change its name. The Macedonian president explained how the postponement of this recognition is producing the risk of a war in the Balkans.*

[Soule] Do you expect recognition at the next summit of the Twelve?

[Gligorov] I remain idealistic in that I think that the EEC cannot deny its principles indefinitely. We have stayed out of the war and have not contributed to the Yugoslav disaster at all. We have always acted in a legal and democratic way; we have tried to prove that the victory of nationalism and interethnic conflict is not inevitable in the Balkans. Moreover, the EEC is well aware that Macedonia is fulfilling all the conditions for recognition. However, it hurriedly recognized countries which are still at war and we, who are not at war and have no intention of launching a conflict, are still not recognized. If it continues to deny its principles, I do not really know how Europe will look in the future.

In its Lisbon declaration (last June—LIBERATION editor's note), the EEC stated that it was prepared to immediately recognize Macedonia provided it changes its name. That is terribly inconsistent. The Twelve say they are prepared to recognize us immediately, which means that we fulfil the preconditions. But they end the sentence by demanding that we change our name. However, more than 170 states have been admitted into the United Nations without any preconditions about their name. In our case, one state just has to disapprove of our name for it to be impossible to admit us. What is more, because Macedonia is not recognized, the international financial institutions and foreign capital are ignoring us. We are also suffering a double embargo, one in the north because of the sanctions on Serbia, the other in the south which is being imposed on us by Greece.

[Soule] What is your main fear if this situation continues?

[Gligorov] In view of our position in the Balkans, if social tensions were to erupt in our country or if neighboring Kosovo made a move, there would inevitably be a Balkan conflict. None of our neighbors would remain indifferent. The postponement of our recognition increases the risks of the conflict spreading in the southern Balkans—a conflict which would be even worse than the one in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is up to you to assess the responsibility which rests on the EEC's shoulders.

[Soule] Are you prepared to compromise on the name?

[Gligorov] So far we have been the only ones to compromise. The Greeks are still demanding the elimination of the word Macedonia from the name of our state and are rejecting all dialogue. The recent mission headed here by Ambassador O'Neal representing the EEC clearly showed a real desire to find a solution. But Greece is rejecting all approaches.

[Soule] Does a compromise which leaves everybody free to recognize you or not under your present name strike you as acceptable?

[Gligorov] If the EEC recognized us under our name, Greece could perfectly well continue to call us "Republic of Skopje," we would have nothing against that. For us, the important thing is that the world should recognize us under the name which features in our Constitution. But we would like to be recognized quickly and find a place in Europe and, above all, we do not want discussions to last 18 years, as on the Cyprus question.

[Soule] What do you expect from the recent UN observers' mission to Macedonia?

[Gligorov] We are asking for the possible deployment of peacekeeping forces on our borders with Serbia and with Albania, because of the uncertainty caused by the elections in Serbia and the risks of an explosion in Kosovo. If a conflict broke out in Kosovo, we would like these peacekeeping forces to be present because of the risks of the conflict spreading and a possible flood of refugees which could destabilize Macedonia. The international community would thus be truly effective if it applied preventive measures instead of intervening once the fire had broken out, as has so far been the case. If Macedonia was recognized in Edinburgh, I think that the dispatch of such forces would

not be necessary. Our recognition would facilitate the solution of Kosovo's problem, by eliminating the risk of seeing a Macedonian crisis break out.

[Soule] On 6 November, the clashes between Albanians and the Macedonian police left four people dead in Skopje. Is that not another potential source of conflict?

[Gligorov] The question of Macedonia's Albanians (21 percent of the population according to official figures, 40 percent according to the Albanians—LIBERATION editor's note) would not be enough to cause an explosion. After two days of discussions with the Albanian parties, we have concluded that this incident was not an interethnic conflict but clashes between the police and Albanian traffickers which, given the prevailing tension, deteriorated into street riots. There were no slogans and the Albanian political parties were not behind it.

[Soule] Have you assessed the cost to Macedonia of the postponement of its recognition and the sanctions which are affecting it indirectly?

[Gligorov] We have told the United Nations that our direct losses were around $1.3 billion. Many factories have also had to close, the people are standing in endless lines for gasoline, and schools are likely to have to close for lack of heating. The standard of living has fallen by more than 50 percent and the population is tolerating all this in the hope of safeguarding peace and in the hope that the EEC will one day accept the facts. But in the past few days there have been rumors of a possible new postponement of the Twelve's decision. That would be refusing to look at its responsibilities.

[Soule] Finally, why do you attach so much importance to the word Macedonia?

[Gligorov] It is not just an emotional issue. In losing that name, we would lose our identity. There have been two Balkan wars for the partition of Macedonia (in 1912 and 1913—LIBERATION editor's note): The Serbs regarded Macedonia as a Serbian province and regarded us as Serbs; the Bulgarians regarded it as their western province and regarded us as Bulgarians.... If we had no name and hence no identity, old disputes and appetites would be reawakened....

President Proposes New Addition to Name

AU0912180292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Speaking at the session of the Macedonian Assembly in Skopje today, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov proposed for this republic to have for external use the name the Republic of Macedonia with the word Skopje within brackets. The name has been changed with a view to having Macedonia internationally recognized at the EC summit in Edinburgh. Let us listen to Boris Djordjioski:

[Begin recording] This modification of its name does not mean that Macedonia is renouncing its national identity, but by putting "Skopje" in its name one is only establishing the geographic location of the Macedonian state. Along with this conclusion, Gligorov expressed his opinion that what is involved is not a change of name and that his proposal is not contrary to the Macedonian Constitution. He says that this is an act of goodwill with a view to showing the EC on the eve of the Edinburgh meeting that Macedonia is ready for such a compromise solution.

If on the day after tomorrow the EC decides that all its members should recognize Macedonia under this proposed name, then the Macedonian Assembly will formally adopt the decision about a name for external use. If the Edinburgh meeting fails to make such a decision or the decision on recognition is left to individual members, the word "Skopje" will be deleted from the republic's name. Gligorov points out that individual West European countries are inclined toward finally solving the problem of recognition of Macedonia with this Macedonian proposal (?and) that this is a compromise solution between two contrary stands: the Greek stand that the word "Macedonia" should be taken out of the name and the Macedonian one that it will never renounce its name.

However, after Gligorov's speech, a representative of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] pointed out that he considers the suggested proposal to represent a change of name and that if Gligorov's proposal is adopted, Macedonia will in fact be renouncing its name. An opinion was demanded of the government. A recess is under way during which parliamentary caucuses should hold consultations. [end recording]

Gligorov Thanks Bulgaria for 'Support'

AU0812192892 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Report by Nikolay Koev: "Bulgarian-Macedonian Relations"]

[Text] Skopje, December 8 (BTA)—The newly appointed consul general of the Republic of Bulgaria to the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Angel Dimitrov, was received today by the president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov.

The sides expressed a shared readiness for an enhancement of economic relations and an activation of political contacts. Mr. Gligorov expressed special gratitude for the economic and moral support which Macedonia receives from Bulgaria and singled out the fact of the recognition of the Republic by Bulgaria.

Mr. Dimitrov handed President Gligorov a personal letter from President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian consul general was received today by the chairman of the Macedonian Parliament Mr. Stojan Andov. They considered the opportunities for cooperation between the two countries' legislatures. Mr. Andov said he was ready to meet with the chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

Mr. Angel Dimitrov conferred today with Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski on bilateral economic interaction and the urgent need to solve the problems of road and communication links between Bulgaria and Macedonia. It was stressed that the problems in communications must be overcome because their present state lags behind the growing vigor of bilateral relations.

Mr. Crvenkovski inquired about the current population census in Bulgaria. Mr. Dimitrov expressed Bulgaria's view that certain misunderstandings could have been avoided if Macedonia had sufficient information about the actual state of affairs in Bulgaria. "It is beyond doubt that the census is being taken in democratic conditions," the Bulgarian consul general said.

Local Albanian Leader Interviewed

93BA0283A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 18

[Interview with Muhamed Halili, coordinator of the Albanian deputies' group in the Macedonian Assembly, by Gordana Susa and Nadezda Gace; place and date not given: "It Is Our State, Too"]

[Text] *We want a state community that will be neither Bulgarian nor Albanian, but rather a state of all citizens of Macedonia; it is disturbing that extremist factions are gaining stronger and stronger support among the population.*

"We Albanians from Macedonia differ from the Albanians in Kosovo. They do not accept Serbia as a state, and we consider Macedonia our state, but under equal conditions. The Albanians in Kosovo developed institutionally, and we developed noninstitutionally. We do not have our own institutions within the framework of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, for example, or our people who are members of it," stated Muhamed Halili, head of the Albanian deputies' group in the Macedonian Assembly, in an interview by BORBA journalists.

[Susa] You have elementary and secondary schools in Albanian.

[Halili] Yes, but in some rights we are even lagging behind what the Albanians in Kosovo have, and a repressive system is in effect there. The Albanians in Kosovo have bilingual identity cards, in Albanian and Serbian, but we do not. I am talking about the current situation, but with the desire to change it and have things better in the future. For instance, within the framework of the Historical Institute, we want a section that will deal with the history of Albanians. Even the network of secondary schools in the Albanian language is not at the level that it was at in 1983, when there were 9,500 pupils, and now we only have 2,500. We never said that we would shift to any kind of civil disobedience, and that we would not participate in the government and the parliament that we are in now.

Macedonians never fought by themselves for the creation of a Macedonian state. On St. Elias' Day, Albanians also fought together with them.

Constituent People

[Susa] Does that mean that you feel that you are a constituent people of Macedonia? How logical is that position, since you already have a state, and it is Albania?

[Halili] Formally and legally, through the 1974 constitution, we were a constituent people. At that time Macedonia was a state of the Macedonian people and a state of the Albanians, Turks, and other peoples. It is not in this new constitution.

If the state is an instrument to create human welfare, then we have always emphasized that Macedonia is our state. Albania is the parent state, but what benefit do we have from it? Our welfare is here, and we have to fight here in Macedonia.

[Susa] You can also exercise those rights in a civil state, in which Albanians do not have to be a constituent people, and instead it is enough for all minority rights and civil rights to be respected.

[Halili] We are talking about a third of a population, namely the Albanians who live here in Macedonia. We acknowledge Macedonians' desire to be called Macedonians, but we are also seeking to have our rights be the same in the new state. Who guarantees that Macedonia will not be part of Bulgaria if VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] wins the elections? VMRO is a pro-Bulgarian party. We want to create a joint state that will not be either Bulgarian or Albanian, but rather a joint state that will be the state of all citizens in Macedonia.

[Susa] Aren't other peoples also afraid of fulfillment of the ideas of Redzep Cosja, who says that peace in the Balkans will only be possible when Kosovo is annexed to Albania?

[Halili] That is his personal view, and I do not want to comment on his views. As a writer, he is highly valued among Albanians, but I do not know how much real influence he has at this time. We support the position that at this time it is not possible to create states in Europe by reshaping new borders, and we recognize Macedonia's territorial integrity. After all, that is also the official position of Albania, which does not have any claims against Macedonia at all and which has accepted the decisions of the CSCE. In this regard I must say that there are also factions among Albanians, mostly informal ones. They act as pressure groups that are extremist and do not accept this position of

ours. There are also such factions, however, among the Macedonians themselves, i.e., ones that are pro-Bulgarian or pro-Serbian.

Inciting Conflict

[Susa] Do the recent clashes between the police and smugglers in Bit Market also have a political aspect?

[Halili] The problem is that the smugglers were not caught. The Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs knows who they are and even cooperates with them. Those caught were children who were earning a few dinars, but the chiefs were saved and thus, in effect, the causes were not eliminated and instead the consequences were attacked. Most of the smugglers are the directors of large enterprises in Macedonia. Most of the former ministers of the former government have mutual ties in that mafia. The source of the smuggling is not those petty dealers on the street. They are only agents.

The other part of this story is likewise the political action, and that is the heart of the problem and of our disagreement with the police, who actually intervened two and a half hours after it all happened. Why should the innocent populace pay with their lives? The Macedonian Gersovska was killed on the threshold of her house, and not in an attack against the militia. The militia attacked her. Some of the police are directly collaborating with VMRO, and we think that they staged the whole Bit Market incident.

[Susa] Can the situation in Macedonia be resolved peacefully, and without major internal conflicts, both social and political?

[Halili] I think that it can, and we are advocating precisely that. Although interethnic relations are very cool, I am convinced that through good will on both sides, the conflict should not be exacerbated. We have a common historical coexistence. We have never waged war with each other, and we also have in common our desire for the creation of a Macedonian state. We are disturbed, however, by the fact that the extremist factions are gaining stronger and stronger support among the population, and by the fact that Bulgaria recognizes Macedonia but not the Macedonian nation. We do not advocate a Greater Albania, and we do not want Macedonia to be split into several parts. Albania is a European and parent state, but, I emphasize, Macedonia is our homeland and state.

Republic 'Surrounded by Enemies'

93BA0283B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 18

[Unattributed article: "Surrounded by Enemies"]

[Text] The spring of 1993 represents at the same time the fear and the hope of unrecognized Macedonia. The spring in Croatia in 1991 and in Bosnia in 1992 were marked by conflicts and provocations that degenerated into savage military conflicts between ethnic groups that had until then lived intermingled.

Macedonia is now a state only through its own recognition, and in many discussions of the former Yugoslav federation it is mentioned as a model for the calm and nonviolent settlement of problems. The Yugoslav Army withdrew without major upheavals, the large Albanian minority is participating in political life, there are no stories about the violation of human rights, and world standards are accepted with the maximum possible speed in most areas. Formally, only Greece is still in the way of its recognition. Informally, it is also being blocked by Milosevic's ambition of resolving Serbia's thorough isolation through an alliance with the Greeks.

The unenviable situation that Serbia is in, like a drowning man who is grasping at straws, has driven Milosevic to treat Macedonia like a coin for settling Balkan accounts. Passions had not yet subsided after the surprising statement about a confederate alliance between Serbia (or Yugoslavia) and Greece, when a new "bombshell" came—well-known FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reporter Viktor Mayer conveyed the words of Greek President Mitsotakis that he had discussed the Macedonian question with Milosevic several times, and that on those occasions a partition of Macedonia was also mentioned. Since Mitsotakis said that he rejected that idea, there is not much room for speculation about who proposed it.

Macedonia is very definitely sick with the Balkan syndrome, being surrounded by enemies. The situation, however, is not much better domestically. Its ethnic composition, which contains about 25 percent Albanians, territorially concentrated in western Macedonia, i.e., physically connected to Albania and Kosovo, suits Greater-Albanian ambitions. The recent unrest in Skopje started as a mafia struggle, but assumed such dimensions that it is hard to believe that it did not have any political background.

A duality of feelings is everyday life in Macedonia: a low standard of living in contrast to the supply in the market; fear of the future, in contrast to satisfaction that Macedonia is the only former Yugoslav republic that has not felt war; praise from the world, in contrast to Greece's embargo; the creation of a new state, in contrast to the centripetal forces of Greater-Albanian, Greater-Bulgarian, and Greater-Serbian nationalism.... Time solves a great many things, but not always and not in the best way. Time will show whether Macedonia will be an exception or whether it will confirm the rule with an explosion in the spring

Blockade Hitting Local Economy Hard

93BA0280A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by M. Krstic: "Macedonia in a Total Blockade"]

[Text] Skoplje, 18 Nov—The most recent rigorous sanctions of the UN Security Council against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] affect independent and sovereign Macedonia considerably more than its northern neighbor. The blockade of Greece on the south and the ban on transit traffic across the territory of Yugoslavia have put Macedonia in the most serious type of isolation so far. After all, to tell the truth, the northern railroad "branch" and other transportation routes through Serbia represented the closest way for travelers and Macedonian goods to reach Europe.

Judging by the statements made by business people, the hardest thing for this Republic is the ban on the transport of crude petroleum and petroleum products, equipment for power-generating installations, the ban on transport of iron and steel and other metals, and also the ban on raw materials indispensable to Macedonian industry, which is dependent upon imports.

The rigorous resolution of the Security Council banning transit traffic across the territory of FR Yugoslavia faces Macedonian shipping firms with an insoluble enigma. Calculations show, it is said by the people at Makedonija Saobracaj in Skoplje, that the detours taken by tank trucks bringing petroleum from seaports is 2,000 German marks [DM] more expensive, and these detours increase the shipping costs of other goods by DM1,000 per vehicle.

Along with all that, numerous customs and other formalities, and then additional border costs involved in carrying goods through Romania, Hungary, or even Bulgaria, are making it considerably more difficult, and, of course, more expensive, to ship things from Europe to Macedonia or in the opposite direction.

There is an additional difficulty for the Macedonian economy which lies in the close ties and orientation toward the Serbian economy which it has had for years now. Almost 80 percent of Macedonian industrial output is directly dependent upon raw materials and production supplies delivered from Serbia. Trade, almost unthinkable without trading partners from Serbia, has also been considerably undermined now. It should be remembered that a month ago President Gligorov announced a figure supplied by the United Nations to the effect that up to that point the damage to Macedonia because of the sanctions instituted against FR Yugoslavia exceeded $1.3 billion. However, there has so far been no response to the request for compensation of the damage by the United Nations except for a promise of humanitarian assistance by the European Community in the amount of 10 million ECU's [European Currency Unit].

Following the Security Council resolution tightening the embargo against FR Yugoslavia, Macedonia found itself in a situation where certain vital industrial facilities are disastrously affected. The chronic shortage of heavy boiler fuel has impeded regular supply to the boilers of the Skoplje heating system, the chemical industry making fertilizers in Veles has shut down, and the prospects of this industry resuming production are poor. According to certain assessments, the shortage of boiler fuel will also shut down production at the zinc and lead smeltery which is among the largest exporters in Macedonia.

According to the most recent news from Veles, operation of the Nonce Kamisov Textile Industry is already uncertain, as is that of the oil mill, the Kiro Cucuk Ceramic Industry, and so on.

Disagreements Among Coalition Parties Viewed

93BA0272A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 19 Nov 92 p 15

[Article by Mirce Tomovski: "Partners and Rivals"]

[Text] *Is there a serious crisis looming inside the coalition government or a usual settling of accounts among parties?*

Is it that after the last parliamentary sessions and after the flea market events, and also according to some party communications and statements by members of the coalition that the partnership within the parliamentary and governmental coalition is about to be retested, or else does this indicate the beginning of the end of the coalition and, therefore, of the parliamentary majority in the government? The initial indications came from the Liberal Party, which indicated at a press conference that contacts had been established with the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] "in order to reexamine the need for the further existence of the coalition government." A certain interpretation of this statement was made by Stojan Andov, the chairman of the peaceful liberals and the parliament's chairman, who said that "any one of the coalition partners, whoever he may be, has the right to ask, in the case of major issues, for a clarification of relations and of views, which is a normal procedure in coalition governments. No one within the coalition government can accept the role of being nothing but a voting machine. Hence nothing untoward has happened in terms of the government."

The view of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] is that "it is too early to determine whether the PDP will reconsider its membership in the governmental coalition." Nikola Popovski, the secretary of the SDSM, said (prior to his statement made to PULS) that "we do not know of any contacts with the SDSM, nor have such contacts been made, and we do not know the reason for such a statement." He explained that "announcements on reassessing our participation in the government are made on the basis of specific political activities of the government."

What are the arguments brought forth by the coalition partners and, in particular, those of the Liberal Party? They were explained in greater detail by Risto Ivanov, the party's deputy chairman:

"The PDP has not established relations with the coalition partner in the Macedonian Republic. The NDP [National Democratic Party] did not participate in the new government. However, in the Assembly the coalition continues to function. The statements by the NDP deputy chairman, issued to foreign news agencies, on the alleged discrimination against Albanians in Macedonia by the authorities were backed by the head of the PDP parliamentary group. Such an attitude on the part of the PDP makes the international recognition of Macedonia impossible. How can we participate in a coalition that includes people who reject the priority objective of the Republic? Instead of reacting to this, the government and its members are engaged in talks with the PDP in Geneva as though they could not act within the Macedonian Assembly and government."

The PDP has its own opinion. Muhamed Halili, who is the coordinator of the PDP-NDP group of representatives in the parliament, was specific: "Firm discussions on this topic have still not been held. The definitive view on this issue has not been made public, which means that the agreement regarding our participation in the government remains valid, and we shall continue to honor this agreement. A statement of leaving the coalition has already been clearly issued by the Liberal Party, which is not honoring the agreement and which has become very close to the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]."

Risto Ivanov considers this view as being a simple "black or white opinion of the matter." "Everyone is trying to pigeonhole us. According to some, we are an extension of the SDSM; according to others, we are leaning toward the VMRO. This does not describe the essence of our actions. We are an individual party with a separate political program. We follow this program and, in the course of its implementation, an assessment by any individual is his personal view. In my view, the remark that we are leaning toward the VMRO is not supported by even a single argument." In this context, Ivanov insists that the priority issues emphasized by the Liberal Party are observing the laws of the system, the institutionalization of the market concept, and the legitimate prerequisites for holding elections soon.

"Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski described all of these issues in his presentation," Ivanov said. "To us that meant that the third coalition partner, the PDP, agreed with the platform of the new government. However, the coalition partners are not implementing the agreement. There is too much delay in the implementation of the constitutional decisions on developing a civil society. The PDP is insisting on nationalistic solutions that violate the concept of the civil state." Risto Ivanov cited the laws on the taxation system, the banks, foreign trade, foreign currency regulations, and the accounting system, the submission of which to the Assembly has not even been hinted. Added to the list of the "sins" of the government is the failure to reorganize the MVR [Ministry of Interanl Affairs], from which the security service must be separated; the passport service must be transferred under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while the police must be concerned with public safety and the fight against crime. The financial police has not been organized and the KOS [Counterintelligence Service] has not been reformed. "There is centralizing of authority and a concept on the socialization of ownership is being promoted," Ivanov added in expressing more specifically the demands of the liberals concerning the reevaluation of their participation in the government.

Nikola Popovski, SDSM secretary, commented on the attitude of the coalition partners. "The members of the PDP-NDP coalition said one day that they were reassessing their participation in the government, in accordance with their already familiar opposition tactics; subsequently, they denied in their reports that this issue was discussed at all by their members." We also heard a representative of the liberal reformists saying that there will be a reconsideration of their position in the government. The representative of the SP [Socialist Party] said that they were "coming closer" to the views of one of the opposition parties. According to Popovski, one could support even unpopular measures taken by the government. "If one wishes to participate in a parliamentary majority government consisting of five parties, one should have more courage, consistency, and readiness to engage in the resolution of problems," Nikola Popovski, SDSM secretary, added.

In parliamentary practices, coalitions are not eternal and are based on a variety of factors. In the case of Macedonia, we must also bear in mind the specific nature of the political mentality according to which in our country partnerships are of short duration. Will this equally apply to the political coalition on which Mr. Crvenkovski's government is based? Currently it is under attack from all sides. The Albanians in the diaspora are attacking the PDP for its political ties to the government and its political "meekness." On the other hand, the PDP's coalition partner, the NDP, does not accept the government's policy and the PDP-NDP representatives oppose government projects that involve the participation of PDP ministers.

The parties belonging to the Macedonian national bloc have called the government a "crypto-Bolshevik-Albanian conspiracy." The VMRO-DPMNE is offering a coalition to the liberals (a party which otherwise it considers imported from the outside) in sharing the power in Skopje. The Socialist Party broke ranks, together with the VMRO-DPMNE, in the elections to fill a parliamentary seat, in the struggle against the PDP-NDP candidate....

Nonetheless, something is happening within the coalition! What is the issue?! The issue is the "treason

committed by the main coalition partner in the implementation of the strategic political objective of the coalition" (the liberals); the "lack of courage and the adoption of so-called unpopular steps and pulling hot chestnuts out of the fire with bare hands" (SDSM); and "for the time being, nothing decisive" (PDP). This is typical of the Macedonian multicolored political stage.

Montenegro

Stankovic Proposes Union of Sovereign States

LD0812235892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2319 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Pljevlja, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—Leader of the opposition Socialist Party of Montenegro Ljubisa Stankovic on Tuesday [8 December] evening said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, made up of Serbia and Montenegro, should be a union of sovereign states.

Stankovic told a rally in the multi-national northern Montenegrin town of Pljevlja the union would be the optimum solution because Montenegro should not separate from Serbia, but should be sovereign and decide its fate.

The federation is not a good solution since "it is quiet natural that Serbia will, in proportion to its territory and population, try to influence the authorities in the federation, meaning to impose an absolute domination."

Stankovic said the election campaign would decide between life and death, war and peace, and give priority to peace in Montenegro.

Russia To Send Humanitarian Aid

93BA0292D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Nov 92 p 10

[Article by Djuro Bilbija: "Moscow Diplomacy and Yugoslav Crisis: Russia Sending Aid to Montenegro"]

[Text] *Just decided to send humanitarian aid to flood victims; Russia continues a balanced line aimed at resolving the crisis, says an official representative.*

Moscow—Russia has decided to offer real—much more tangible than thus far—material and moral aid to Yugoslavia, or more precisely, to the "Cosic [FRY president] and Panic [FRY prime minister] course." In only a few days, the issue of easing the sanctions could be raised once again. But it is also certain that the steps taken do not affect the "international coordinates into which Yugoslavia has been cast."

The impression that a Russian "rapprochement to Yugoslavia" assuming these very dimensions is under way was confirmed at yesterday's meeting between Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy and journalists. He first announced that the Russian Government has in fact decided to send humanitarian aid to flood victims in Montenegro: 30 metric tons of food and medicine worth a million rubles. He then expressed his hope that the "FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] course for constructive cooperation with the world community will result in a lifting of the sanctions and the removal of Yugoslavia from international isolation."

Responding specifically to a journalist's question concerning a statement by the deputy Russian minister of foreign affairs, Vitaliy Churkin—that "at a certain phase" Russia could put forward an initiative to ease the sanctions, and that plans in this regard are already been formulated—and whether this statement can be regarded as a turnabout in Moscow's policy, Yastrzhembskiy said, among other things, the following:

"I believe that what Churkin said should not be regarded as any sort of turnabout. It is simply proof that Russia is continuing its balanced line aimed at resolving the problem of Yugoslavia, its approach toward the various participants in the Yugoslav conflict. This cannot be spoken of as a turnabout, but rather as an extension of our efforts, within the context of the aforementioned line, which is calculated to ease the sanctions. Russia is steadfast in its actions in this direction.

"We have undertaken some steps in this regard in recent times, even if through the UN Committee for Sanctions. Russia has already officially requested an easing of the sanctions by that committee.

"That is why," Yastrzhembskiy emphasized, "Churkin said very clearly that it would be extremely important for the international community to make this important political gesture to the benefit of the Cosic and Panic policy, to support their policy unambiguously. Russia's policy is also calculated to achieve this very goal."

Asked whether the increasingly obvious involvement of NATO in the Yugoslav crisis could also signify preparations for military intervention against Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs, Yastrzhembskiy responded as follows:

"I believe that this should not be discussed as a fait accompli. More precisely, we have no facts at our disposal that would indicate that this is how things stand. But I want to note that thus far we have, on many occasions, stressed that there can be NATO involvement only strictly within the framework of the UN mandate and the Security Council resolutions. I also repeat the second part of our position: A grain of rationality could be of use to, for example, the military-technical infrastructure of NATO or of any other international organization."

Asked about Russia's view of the warning that a half a million people in Yugoslavia could perish this winter from cold and hunger, and whether it is willing, if necessary, to supply petroleum and other humanitarian aid to Yugoslavia "on its own initiative," Yastrzhembskiy responded as follows:

"We share the concern of the international community regarding the suffering that could be endured by the civilian population in the upcoming winter. That is why we have insisted in the past, and continue to insist, that the sanctions be eased—both in order to help (in this way) the civilian population and in order to offer moral support to Cosic and Panic."

The Russian diplomat partially denied the allegation that Russia has signed a broad-spectrum international agreement with Bosnia-Hercegovina. More precisely, Yastrzhembskiy announced that work is under way on a "standard, comprehensive commercial and economic agreement." He added that on the Russian side work on this document is being done by experts from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, but he acknowledged that a clause has been introduced in it concerning the "Bosnian language." At the end, he specified further that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already alerted its colleagues from the other ministry in question to the fact that no "Bosnian language" exists.

Montenegro Democratic Party Candidate Interviewed

93BA0289E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Nov 92 p 5

[Interview with Ljubomir Tadic, member of the academy, by Dragan Bisenic; place and date not given: "Politics Is Much Further Away Than the End of Your Nose"]

[Text] "Friends have persuaded me to head the slate of the Democratic Party of Montenegro, so that that was not my independent decision," says Academician Ljubomir Tadic to explain the fact that he, a member of Micunovic's Democratic Party [DS], will head a party slate in another republic. "I must say that a possible victory in the election does not give me much joy. Those are obligations which upset the rhythm of my life, to which I have become accustomed, and I also am of a certain age. Friends from Montenegro and also from here persuaded me to do this, because, they said, there is the chance of a quite serious political organization arising out of a small party. In case of a possible success, the intention is to unify the DS in Serbia and in Montenegro. That is necessary in order to create a serious state from this remnant of Yugoslavia and that would be a prerequisite for freedom and not naked repression."

[Bisenic] What is your personal political program?

[Tadic] In traveling around Montenegro, I insisted that we are attempting to eliminate what is uncivilized from the political culture. Passions are so tense that an explosion of hatred threatens. I have drawn anger down on my head from a segment of the opposition, because I did not like the partisanship, the victory over the incumbent party at any price, just as I cannot stand the cynicism of the incumbent party, which has been ignoring everything that the opposition has been doing and proposing. That is what I emphasized most in Montenegro. I felt that it is necessary to support the federal state and policy which is symbolized above all by Cosic, and the creation of a state that will protect the interests of the people in Montenegro and Serbia. That is, there is a danger that the republic oligarchies will make the Federal Government a mere implement to carry out their desires. That is what they had in mind when they accepted it.

[Bisenic] You have been traveling in Montenegro. What is your assessment of the political atmosphere?

[Tadic] I encountered a very pleasant reception everywhere. We anticipated in Pljevlja, for example, that we would encounter resistance to this moderate line of ours. No. In Pljevlja we met with full understanding when we spoke in an overflowing auditorium.

[Bisenic] What welcome did you receive in view of the fact that you are a candidate going to Montenegro from Serbia?

[Tadic] There have been no problems at all. I have been at two press conferences, and, people say, this has been very well received.

[Bisenic] You personally, and the DS here, are supporting the policy of President Cosic, even the Democratic Party of Socialists is showing an inclination toward the policy of Dobrica Cosic....

[Tadic] They have shown that in the voting in the Chamber of Republics and behind that they probably have their own interests. But the DS of Montenegro has great reserves about their policy. I praised them in public for that vote, because I felt that they had saved a fragile situation, because I viewed the vote on Panic's government from the standpoint of the policy symbolized by Dobrica Cosic. Fortunately, I have the impression that Panic cannot conduct any policy of his own aside from the policy of Dobrica Cosic regardless of the powers which he has. Recently, he has shown more balanced line in saying that he is a member of Dobrica Cosic's team. I like that. That is good for the cause itself, regardless of who the leader will be.

[Bisenic] How would you describe the political panorama of Montenegro?

[Tadic] As far as I understand, there are quite a few lads there who could not go to the top after Djuranovic's team was destroyed, and so they separated and began to wage a fight against those who had previously been their friends. In that oppositionist activity of theirs, similar to a segment of the opposition in Serbia, they are not particular about the means they use in denouncing their opponent. There is not a great deal of principle here, and I am reserved about any policy which does not care too much about principle.

As for the Liberal Alliance, their name is like that of the Democratic Action Party, that is, a name that is false when compared to what they profess. They want something for Montenegro which has absolutely no basis in

Montenegro's spiritual history. That history is directly opposite to them. The old "Greens" appealed to the monarchist principle of the Petrovic Dynasty, but these now are probably surviving remnants of the ruling communist team.

Djuranovic is behind the so-called Civil Alliance, I have heard. Two newspapers are being published: LIBERAL and MONITOR. The worst articles can be found in MONITOR. I read a scurrilous text of the worst kind against Dobrica Cosic written by Stanko Cerovic. It has nothing in it except outright hatred, and this Mr. Cerovic works for Radio France International. When we get the news of what RFI is saying about us, then it is Mr. Cerovic who is behind it. Now they have also found their weapon. This is a brutal anti-Serb ideology, which has adherents in Montenegro, but not many. They are very loud and conspicuous. As far as I have been able to understand, this is a grouping that acts on instructions from someone whose identity we can only conjecture about. I do not understand how anything authentically Montenegrin can be expressed in Italian—Viva vero Montenegro. This is an absurdity from which it is evident that an occupier's legacy stands behind it.

[Bisenic] In Montenegro, just as here, people probably know that you are a friend of Dobrica Cosic. How do they perceive Cosic?

[Tadic] With the greatest respect. I am very happy to learn that. He is my friend, but quite independently of that, I think he is that slender thread by which we are still hanging on. I do not mean that an individual is deciding the destiny of the people, but those are symbolic things in this situation, in which many individuals have lost a chance of being a factor in resolving our crisis. He has that prestige. If that prestige is gambled away, I see no solution on our political scene. The night before last I listened to a certain Kastratovic, a lawyer from the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], and Batic, who once belonged to our party, but who now belongs to the Democratic Party of Serbia, talking about Cosic in a tone of political spite. That kind of spite is cutting our roots. There seems to be no one who can look any further than the end of this nose. These are small, petty interests on the order of "when my neighbor's cow dies, it is a small thing, but pleasant."

Dobrica has been protecting all those who had any ability and he got burned when no one dared to let out a peep. He has pursued an idea which is not an idea of crime, but an idea of freedom. Even crimes have been committed under the patronage of freedom. When he saw that, he made a turn and took the direction of a convinced Democrat. Various intellectual and mental pygmies have been belittling him. The envy of small people to bring down the oak, to set fire to the temple like Herostratus, are a disaster in our political culture. This shows that the people who do this have absolutely nothing to offer.

[Bisenic] In your opinion, could there be a separation of Serbia and Montenegro?

[Tadic] I am not sure that this could happen without a great deal of bloodshed in Serbia and Montenegro. This could occur only through a force that intervened from outside. There is the entire illusion of the "neo-Greens" here. There is no question of creating that kind of atmosphere in Vasojevici, the Durmitor region, or in Niksic.

[Bisenic] What will you consider success and failure in the election?

[Tadic] I will consider it a success if the present administrations in Montenegro and Serbia are replaced by a democratic alternative. Those who have imposed the cruel sanctions would have to turn over a new leaf, however reluctantly. If the present situation persists, we will face a continuation of all these things. I think with the best of intentions that it would be a great thing if Milosevic did not run in this election. That would be a patriotic act of the first order. His name has been turned into a demon, and Serbia has been turned into an imperial force for no reason whatsoever.

Kosovo

Situation 'Very Tense' After Vushtrri Shooting

AU0812213092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2100 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] At about 1200 in Vushtrri, the Serbian police killed the 47 year-old Rakip Hamiz Aliti, resident of the village Domice e Ulet. In the streets of Doibule, while checking Rakip Aliti, who [words indistinct] to sell in the market, the Serbian police fired automatic weapons at him and shot him dead. Rakip was unarmed, whereas the Serbian police fired about 30 bullets into him.

This incident served as an excuse to justify the fact that the Serbian police have been stationed in that commune for a long time and have laid complete siege to the whole commune. The situation in Vushtrri is very tense.

Alliance Protests Construction of Orthodox Church

AU0812211992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] On the occasion of placing the foundation stone of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Pristina, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance Presidency gave a statement for the public, which states:

This act is a new step in the escalation of the spiritual and cultural pressure against the Albanian teachers and students and all Kosovo residents. By placing the foundation stone of the orthodox church in the property of a scientific, educational, and cultural institution that belongs to all Kosovo citizens, the Serbian Orthodox church was placed in the

service of the present Serbian policy that is applying genocide against all those who are not of the Serbian affiliation and the Orthodox belief. Albanians have always assessed and preserved sacred institutions, despite the builders and their affiliation and for centuries have cultivated interfaith tolerance. The consequences of this act may be very grave and incurable.

The statement says that starting to construct the church at this time and place serves directly to fan the radical aggression of the Belgrade authorities against Kosovo and Albanians.

Albanian Language Paper Not Published

LD0912150392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Pristina, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The Pristina-based Gracanica printing house has not been publishing Albanian language papers for two days due to a lack of printing paper. The printing house says that the BUJKU daily cannot be published unless the paper settles at least a half of its four million dinars debt.

The editorial board of this Albanian language paper stress that they have the money, but they cannot withdraw it without the approval of the director of the Rilindja sales enterprise, which holds all funds.

The director of the printing house, Predrag Arsic, warned that the Serbian language paper JEDINSTVO might not be published unless it settles its 17 million dinars debt.

Non-Publication Condemned

AU0912170492 Tirana ATA in English 1144 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—The co-worker of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency in Pristina Behlul Jashari writes:

No Albanian newspaper has appeared since December 6. The violent Serb leadership of the Pristina Publishing House continues to refuse to publish the Albanian press, allegedly for shortage of paper. But the fact that the Serb press continues to appear normally shows that this is a false pretext. For the moment no one knows when the Albanian press will begin to be printed. There even exists the fear that with the approval of the Serb law on the Public Enterprise Panorama, which foresees the liquidation of the Rilindja Printing House in the Albanian language, the publication of the Albanian press will be suspended once and for all in Kosovo.

Serbian Police Arrest Albanian Activists

AU0912170392 Tirana ATA in English 1006 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—As the Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo reports, the Serb regime of Kosovo is endeavouring to put an end to the activities of the political parties and associations of the Albanians. The Albanian activists are subjected everyday to maltreatment and arrested by the Serb police.

In Decan, the Serb Radical Party, supported by the police, evicted from the offices the representatives of the local branch of the Democratic League of Kosovo and they themselves settled there.

On December 4 in the Rajovec Court began the trial of Fetah Berisha, member of the Kosovo parliament, Qerim Rexhepi, and Xhemajli Hajrullaga, professor. They are charged of staging a demonstration on October 12-13 this year in support of the Albanian schools. They are accused of having upset the public order and instigating ethnic and religious hatred by chanting: Long live the Republic of Kosovo and long live the schools before a crowd of 7,000-8,000 persons. The Serb police are witnesses in the trial.

'Separatists' Said Increasing Attacks

LD0912175792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Pristina, December 9 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanian Besim Salja, 18, was wounded while trying to steal fuel at the military airfield outside Pristina, capital of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, on Tuesday [8 December], the Air Force and Air Defense Command said on Wednesday.

After a military guard reacted as envisaged under military regulations, Salja fired at the guard, who fired back. Wounded Salja received first aid at the scene of the incident and was then taken to the hospital in Pristina.

The Interior Ministry of Serbia on Wednesday released a statement about an attack on a police patrol in the town of Vucitrn in Kosovo and Metohija on Tuesday. The statement said that "while a horse-drawn wagon was passing a police patrol, Ragib Abiti, 46, of the village Donja Dubica, attacked the policemen from the wagon with an axe for no reason at all." One policeman was seriousy injured in the head and chest. The policemen reacted by shooting from firearms and killed the assailant.

The incidents are the latest in a series of attacks on the Army and police in Kosovo and Metohija. A group of terrorists attacked the military guards outside the Command of the Army of Yugoslavia [words indistinct]. One of the attackers was killed and two military guards were wounded in the incident.

Ethnic Albanians make up a majority in Kosovo and Metohija. Their political leaders lead a strong separatist movement whose aim is Kosovo and Metohija's secession from Yugoslavia and joining of Albania.

In the latest report submitted to parliament, in which the situation in Kosovo and Metohija is analyzed, the Yugoslav Government said the separatists, aided by some

countries, were organizing military formations and in the meantime carrying out terrorist operations. The terrorist operations the report said were primarily directed against members of the Army of Yugoslavia and the police of the Republic of Serbia.

Pristina Corps Commander on Kosovo Security

93BA0307A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Statement to POLITIKA by Commander of Pristina Corps: Kosmet Security Guaranteed"]

[Text] *The Armed Forces of Yugoslavia want all citizens to regard them as their own, but will respond to all attacks, either against its members or against property, more forcefully than in the past, says Major General Miloslav Radmanovic.*

Could a secession scenario based on the model of the former Yugoslav republics repeat itself in Kosovo and Metohija? Is that part of Serbia also the soft underbelly of the republic, or of the federal state as well?

The commander of the Pristina Corps of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, Maj. Gen. Miloslav Radmanovic, said that the situation in the zone of responsibility of his corps is rather complicated, but that his units can handle all possible eventualities.

Maj. Gen. Radmanovic emphasized in an interview with a POLITIKA journalist that the Pristina Corps has been reduced in size, but that at the same time its combat strength has been increased many times over through better organization and the amplified presence of heavy combat equipment. Within the framework of the overall transformation of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, the units of the Pristina Corps have also undergone a certain transformation. "We can resist any aggressor in this region, even under the worst conditions of external aggression supported by internal armed rebellion. All possible directions for advances by any armed forces from the direction of Albania are covered. We do not see any threat whatsoever from the current potential of the Albanian armed forces, but if an attack from the territory of Albania were supported by the military forces of certain other states, this would naturally complicate the situation and increase the danger. But we are taking these options into account as well; we have appraisals and adequate defense measures. Our corps is structured in such a way that it guarantees full security in this region, not only to halt, but also to expel any aggressor from our territory. Anyway, we do not see any reason or justification whatsoever for any aggression against this part of Serbia and Yugoslavia."

Is it possible, despite everything, that the pattern of blockading the barracks of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, similar to the scenario in Slovenia and Croatia, could be repeated in Kosovo and Metohija?

Maj. Gen. Miloslav Radmanovic says that this is not possible for at least two reasons. First, good lessons were learned and experience was gained from what happened in the secessionist republics, and all the weaknesses were recognized. "Besides, in Kosovo and Metohija, the government is in the hands of the Serbian and Yugoslav state. We also have here units of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Serbia, with whom we have an excellent level of cooperation in all situations, and thus that would also be the case in the event of an armed rebellion and in war activities. We have enough armored and other equipment for a successful defense."

With regard to the possibility of new terrorist attacks on members of the Pristina Corps or on military property, Gen. Radmanovic had the following brief statement:

"In our public announcement relating to the recent terrorist attack on our soldiers, we said that in the future we will not tolerate any provocation and assaults whatsoever and that we will respond much more forcefully that we did in the recent case."

Vojvodina

Belgrade 'Purges' Teachers, Judiciary, Police

LD0812231892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Before the announced local elections are held, all directors of primary and secondary schools in Vojvodina, who are to be appointed directly by the Belgrade Education Ministry, will be reselected.

According to a ministry decision, all new directors must be selected before 20 December, that is before the elections. Following this, they will be given a free hand to appoint teachers, which means that not one professor who is judged to be unsuitable by the Socialists will be able to teach.

Similar purges have been completed in the police, customs, and, allegedly, judiciary. This mainly hurts minorities in Vojvodina. There are almost no Croats or Hungarians left in the Vojvodina police and customs service because they have either been dismissed or retired.

In the town of Subotica, where Croats and Hungarians are in the majority and where they even have municipal power, they were unable to influence the recent appointments of judges, who were appointed directly by Belgrade. There is not a single judge in Subotica who declares to be a Croat. Even judges have who worked for 20 years have been dismissed.

Opposition Parties Form Election Coalition

LD0912152592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—A wide coalition of democratic opposition parties has been created at the provincial and local levels with only one aim—to

take power from the Socialist Party of Serbia—it was stressed at a news conference held at the Democratic Party headquarters in Novi Sad today.

A previously set up alliance of the Democratic Party, the Reformist Democratic Party, and the Civic Party has signed an agreement on joint participation in the elections with Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS], whose members in the elections for the Vojvodina Assembly and municipal assemblies are the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Democratic Party of Serbia, and the National Radical Party. A gentleman's agreement at the level of the city of Novi Sad was reached with the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians on nonrivalry at two polling stations [sentence as heard]. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Industry Reports Fall in Production

AU0712172092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Following the introduction of sanctions, industrial production in Vojvodina has fallen by one-fifth. The figures in some other sectors of the economy are somewhat better. This was stated at a session of the Presidency of the Vojvodina Economic Chamber. Slavko Pusic reports from Novi Sad:

[Pusic] Many enterprises in Vojvodina have either stopped production or reduced it to the minimum. How adversely the sanctions have affected the economy is best illustrated by the fact that after the sanctions have been introduced, industrial productions fell by 20 percent, which is almost a three times bigger fall than before the blockade. Out of the total of 32 industrial branches, only two branches reported a rise in production in the first nine months, the oil and natural gas producing firms of 6.7 percent and the tobacco processing firms of 93.7 percent. All other branches experienced a drastic fall, including agriculture, not so much because of the blockade and sanctions, but because of the consequences of the catastrophic drought. [passage omitted]

Democratic Reform Party: Autonomy for Vojvodina

93BA0059C Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 5 Oct 92 p 5

[Article by Klara Orosz: "For the Province's Unity"]

[Text] The main committee of the VDRP [Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina] has adopted a declaration on Vojvodina. On 13 August, the party's executive committee had approved the document's draft that elicited a variety of responses. On the basis of the received comments, the working group drafted amendments that the main committee then adopted in the form of supplements.

The declaration on Vojvodina consists of three parts. The introductory part explains the objectives of provincial autonomy, the reasons for granting it, and its principles. It makes unambiguously clear that the republic and the two provinces are a complex body politic, in which the Serbian power structure in its drive for centralization had practically destroyed the two provinces' autonomy. The VDRP supports a democratic Serbian state that is based on civic principles, and not the majority nation's dominance. The document states that autonomy—if it is to be an expression of characteristics and at the same time is to mean democratic integration into a wider community—has real meaning only in a state that recognizes the subjectiveness of its citizens and their right to be distinct. Autonomy defined in this manner starts out from the fact that Vojvodina is a unique, multiethnic, and historically defined region.

The declaration's second part spells out the content of autonomy and enumerates the areas over which Vojvodina must have authority. To the seven areas enumerated originally (the economy; education; culture; science; the media; legislative, executive, and judicial powers; and international relations, particularly the protection of minorities) there have been added—in the form of supplements—health care and welfare, demography, and environmental protection. The third part discusses the manner in which autonomy is to be realized and has elicited the most comments. Especially the Radicals objected that Vojvodina is to be an autonomous province within Serbia and the Yugoslav Federal Republic, which Vojvodina has joined through the will of its provincial organs and citizens; and that Vojvodina is to enact its own constitutional laws. In public administration the declaration calls for a high degree of autonomy, which guarantees also the effective realization of minority rights.

It was pointed out during the summation of the received comments before the enlarged main committee that, regrettably, the declaration's critics had not debated the declaration on its merits but had confined themselves to denouncing the Reform Party; however, the critics were far outnumbered by those who fully supported the declaration or supported it in principle. The VDRP greatly appreciates also the reserved attitude of DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], because the two organizations agree on the need for drastic decentralization, even though their ideas differ. Several places proposed that the question of autonomy has to be solved once and for all, because citizens want to have control over the fruits of their labor. As they said, Vojvodina would be living better than the other districts only to the extent that they worked better and harder. Members of the main committee repeatedly made it clear that they were not requesting separate statehood for Vojvodina, and that their proposed autonomy would avoid cantonization and would thus preserve the province's unity.